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KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

By ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. F. R. S.

Honorary Member of the Societies of DUBLIN, BATH, YORK, SALFORD and ODIHAM; the Philosophical and Literary Society of MANCHESTER; the Veterinary College of LONDON; the Oeconomical Society of BERNE; the Physical Society of ZURICH; the Palatine Academy of Agriculture at MANHEIM; the Imperial Oeconomical Society established at PETERSBURGH; Associate of the Royal Society at PARIS; and Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Agriculture at FLORENCE; and of the Patriotic Society at MILAN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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TRAVELS, &c.

PART SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Of the Extent of France.

THE circumſtances which are moſt apt to command the attention of mankind, for giving importance to a country, are really valuable no farther than as they contribute to the eaſe and proſperity of the inhabitants. Thus the extent of a kingdom is of no other conſequence than affording nouriſhment for a people too numerous to be reaſonably apprehenſive of foreign conqueſt. When a territory is much more conſiderable than for this purpoſe, it tends to inſpire ambitious projects in

the minds of the men that govern, which have proved, perhaps, more diſaſtrous than the deficiency of power that endangers the national defence. France, under Lewis XIV. was a remarkable inſtance of this fact. The ſituation to which the ambition of that prince had reduced her immenſe territory, was hardly preferable to that of Holland, in 1672, whoſe misfortunes flowed from the ſame origin. Of the two extremes, France has undoubtedly more to apprehend from the ambition of her own rulers, than from that of any neighbour. Authorities vary conſiderably in deſcribing the extent of this fine kingdom. The Maréchal de Vauban makes it 30,000 leagues, or 140,940,000 arpents; Voltaire 130,000,000 arpents.—The accuracy of round numbers is always to be doubted. Templeman gives it an extent of 138,837 ſquare geographic miles, of ſixty to a degree; a meaſurement, which renders all his tables abſolutely uſeleſs for any purpoſe, but that of comparing one country with another, a degree being ſixty-nine miles and an half, which makes it 119,220,874$\frac{123}{368}$ acres.—Pauëton reduces his meaſure to French arpents, and makes the number 107,690,000. The Encyclopædia, article *France*, aſſigns 100,000,000 of arpents as the contents; and obſerves, that, by Caſſini's maps, the amount is 125,000,000. A late author * calculates it at 105,000,000: and another † at 135,600,000. None of theſe accounts ſeem ſufficiently accurate for the purpoſe of giving

* L'Impot Abonné. 4to. 1789.

† Apologie ſur l'edict de Nantes.

a cor-

a correct idea. The authority on which I am inclined moſt to rely is that of M. Necker†, who calculates it (without Corſica) at 26,951 leagues ſquare, of 2282$\frac{1}{2}$ toiſes; this, I find amounts to 156,024,213 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 Engliſh acres. Pauſton, by covering his map with ſhot to every indenture of outline, with the greateſt care, found the kingdom to contain 103,021,840 arpents, each of 100 perch, at 22 feet the perch, or 1344$\frac{4}{9}$ toiſes ſquare to the arpent; inſtead of which, the arpent of Paris contains but 900 toiſes:—this meaſurement makes 81,687,016 Engliſh acres *.—Notwithſtanding the credit uſually given to this writer for his accuracy, I muſt here reject his authority in favour of that of M. Necker. Pauſton's calculation, which gives 81,687,016 Engliſh acres to France, aſſigns by the ſame rule to England 24,476,315 †; yet Templeman's ſurvey, at 60 miles to a degree, and therefore confeſſedly below the truth, makes it 31,648,000, which at 69$\frac{1}{2}$ to a degree, are 42,463,264$\frac{16}{36}$; a greater difference than is found between them in eſtimating the ſurface of France, which, by Pauſton, is made 81,687,016 Engliſh acres, with a general admiſſion of about a million more; and by Templeman, 83,855,680; or at 69$\frac{1}{2}$, is 119,220,874$\frac{192}{320}$.

† Oeuvres 4to. p. 326.

* I made this reduction, by valuing, with Pauſton, the French arpent at 1,0000, and the Engliſh 0,7929.

† That is 30,869,360 arpents royale, of 22 feet to the perch.

It is vain to attempt reconciling theſe contrary accounts. I ſhall therefore adopt, with the author of the *Credit Nationale* *, the eſtimation of M. Necker, which ſuppoſes 156,024,113 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 Engliſh acres.

For a compariſon of the French and Engliſh dominions, I muſt for the latter adopt Templeman's meaſurement, who gives to

England,	49,450 ſquare miles.	France,	138,837 ſquare miles.
Scotland,	27,794		
Ireland,	27,457		
	104,701		

Calculated at 60 to a degree; but at 69½ theſe numbers become,

	Sq. miles.	*Acres.*		*Sq. miles.*	*Acres.*
England,	66,348	42,463,264	France,	186,282	119,220,874
Scotland,	37,292	23,867,016			
Ireland,	36,840	23,577,630			
	140,480	89,907,910			

Hence it appears, that France, according to theſe proportions, contains 29,312,964 acres more than the three Britiſh kingdoms; and it is to be noted, that as the extent of France is taken from the more modern and correct authorities, whence M. Necker deduced his meaſurement at 131,722,295 Engliſh acres, which is conſequently much more exact than of Templeman; ſo it is equally fair to

* Monſ. Jorré. 8vo. 1789. He calculates on 27,000 leagues, at 2282 toiſes, 5786 arpents of Paris in a league; or in France 156,225,720 arpents. P. 95.

ſup-

ſuppoſe, that the latter is as much below the fact in the contents of our iſlands, as he was in thoſe of France. Corrected by this rule, the areas will be.

England*,	46,915,933 † acres.	France,	131,722,295 acres.
Scotland,	26,369,695		
Ireland,	26,049,961		
	99,335,589		

Theſe numbers, I am upon the whole inclined to believe, are as near to the truth as may reaſonably be expected from calculations, when the *data* are not abſolutely correct.

CHAP. II.

Of the Soil, and Face of the Country.

THE modern French geographers, in a branch of that ſcience, to which they have properly given the epithet *phyſical*, have divided the kingdom into what they call *baſſins*; that is to ſay, into ſeveral great plains, through which flow the

* It may be remarked, that Dr. Grew calculated the real contents of England and Wales at 46,080,000 acres. *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 330, p. 266. Which ſeems a confirmation that we are not far from the truth.

† Equal to 73,306 ſquare miles.

principal

principal rivers, and which are formed of ſeveral ridges of mountains, either *original*, as they term it, of granite, or ſecondary of calcareous and other materials. Of theſe *baſſins* the chief are, 1. Of the Loire and all the rivers that fall into it. 2, Of the Seine and its branches. 3, Of the Garonne. 4, Of the Rhone and Soane. There are likewiſe ſome ſmaller ones, but of much leſs account. The reader who wiſhes to conſult the detail of theſe, may turn to the *Journal Phyſique*, tom. 30. for a memoir by M. la Metherie.

In reſpect to the geoponic diviſion of the ſoils of the kingdom, the rich calcareous plain of the north-eaſtern quarter firſt calls for our attention. I croſſed this in ſeveral directions, and from the obſervations I made, the following are the limits I would aſſign to it. On the coaſt it may be ſaid to extend from Dunkirk to Carentan in Normandy, for the northern promontory of that province, which projects into the ſea at Cherbourg, &c. is of a different ſoil. In M. la Metherie's map, is marked a ridge of granite mountains in this promontory; I ſhould remark, that I ſaw nothing in that country which deſerves the name of a mountain, any more than at Alençon; merely hills, and thoſe not conſiderable ones. I may terminate the rich tract at Carentan, as thence to Coutances the land is chiefly poor and ſtoney, and holds, with many variations, quite to Breſt. In the line a little to the S. of the coaſt, before Caen, is ſeen the firſt conſiderable change of ſoil from Calais; it there becomes a red *ſtone braſh*; this rich tract is

here

here, therefore, narrow. On re-entering Normandy on the ſide of Alençon, from Anjou and Maine, I firſt met with the rich loams on a calcareous bottom at Beaumont; at Alençon there is a noble ſoil, which I then loſt no more in advancing northwards. In another line I entered this rich diſtrict about ten miles to the ſouth of Tours. The hills on the Loire, though all calcareous that I noticed, are not all rich, though on ſome the ſoil is deep and good. Directly to the ſouth of Orleans begins the miſerable Sologne, which, though on a calcareous bottom of marl, is too poor to be included in the preſent diſtrict. From Orleans to Paris, and alſo Fontainbleau, no exceptions are to be made, but in the ſmall ſpace of poor ſand ſtone in the royal foreſt of the latter town. In a fourth direction this diſtrict is entered, but not ſo deciſively as in the preceding caſes, a few miles to the ſouth of Nemours. At Croſiere the firſt chalk is viſible to the traveller. Advancing to the N. E. very good land is found near Nangis, and then bearing N. I entered the fertile plain of Brie. Some of the vales through which the Marne flows are rich, and what I ſaw calcareous; but the hills are poor. The plain of Rheims may be claſſed in the preſent diſtrict, but at Soiſſons and thence due N. all is excellent. Theſe limits incloſe one of the fineſt territories that I ſuppoſe is to be found in Europe. From Dunkirk to Nemours is not leſs than one hundred and eighty miles in a right line. From Soiſſons to Carentan is another right line of about two hundred miles.

From

From Eu, on the Norman coaſt, to Chartres is one hundred miles; and though the breadth of this rich diſtrict at Caen, Bayeux, &c. is not conſiderable, yet the whole will be found to contain not a trifling proportion of the whole kingdom. This noble territory includes the deep, level, and fertile plain of Flanders, and part of Artois, than which a richer ſoil can hardly be deſired to repay the induſtry of mankind; two, three, and even four feet deep of moiſt and putrid, but friable and mellow loam, more inclining to clay than ſand, on a calcareous bottom, and from its marine origin (for there can be little doubt but that the whole plain of Flanders and Holland has been covered by the ſea, long ſince our globe has taken its preſent appearance), abounding with particles that add to the common fertility, reſulting from ſuch compounds found in other ſituations. The putridity of the *humus* in Flanders and its poſition, being a dead level, are the principal circumſtances that diſtinguiſh it from the better ſoils of the reſt of this fertile part of Europe. Every ſtep of the way from the very gate of Paris to near Soiſſons, and thence to Cambray, with but little variation of ſome inferior hills of ſmall extent, is a ſandy loam of an admirable texture, and commonly of conſiderable depth. About Meaux it is to be ranked among the fineſt in the world; they call it *Heaunemeau*; it tends much towards an impalpable powder, which betrays few ſigns of ſand, even when, to the eye, it has the appearance of a ſandy loam. It is of an admirable texture and friability.

Monſ.

Monſ. Gibert informed me, that it is of the depth of eighteen feet where his well is digged, and under it a ſtratum of white marl, found under the whole country, at different depths. This marl has the appearance of a conſolidated paſte, The line through Picardy is inferior, yet, for the moſt part, excellent. But all the arable part of Normandy, which is within theſe limits, is of the ſame rich friable ſandy loam, to a great depth; that from Bernay to Elbœuf can ſcarcely be exceeded; four to five feet deep of a reddiſh brown loam on a chalk bottom, and without a ſtone. As to the paſtures of the ſame province, we have, I believe, nothing either in England or Ireland equal to them; I hold the vale of Limerick to be inferior. The famous Pays de Beauce, which I croſſed between Arpajon and Orleans, reſembles the vales of Meaux and Senlis; it is not, however, in general, ſo deep as the former. The limits I have traced are thoſe of great fertility; but the calcareous diſtrict, and even of chalk, is much more extenſive. To the E. it reaches acroſs Champagne; a ſtrong change, not having occurred to me till about St. Menehould. From Metz to Nancy all its calcareous, but not chalk. Limeſtone land I found plentifully in the ſouthern parts of Alſace; and from Befort acroſs Franche Comté to Dole, all the ſtones I tried, and many from quarries, were calcareous. Immenſe diſtricts in Dauphiné and Provence, &c. &c. are the ſame; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that I remarked the chalk country to extend E. to about St. Menehould,

hould, and S. to Nemours and Montargis * in one line. In another, that all of the Angoumois which I ſaw is the ſame; much in Poitou, and through Touraine to the Loire. Had I penetrated more to the W. I ſhould probably have found the chalk of Angoumois, and that of the Loire to be connected uninterruptedly. Moſt of the courſe of the Loire is, I believe, chalk, and the whole of it calcareous. Hence it appears, that the chalk country of France is of very conſiderable extent; not leſs than two hundred miles E. and W. and about as much, but more irregularly, N. and S. and compriſes, by far, the richeſt and moſt fertile provinces of the kingdom.

The next conſiderable diſtrict, for fertility, is that which I may call, without impropriety, the plain of the Garonne. Paſſing to the S. from Limoſin, it is entered about Creiſſenſac, with the province of Quercy, and improves all the way to Montauban and Toulouſe, where it is one of the fineſt levels of fertile ſoil that can any where be ſeen. It continues, but not equally fruitful, to the foot of the Pyrenees, by St. Gaudents, &c. very even to the eye, when viewed from the promenade at Montauban, which commands one of the richeſt, as well as magnificent proſpects, to be met with in France. This plain I found, however, to be

* I believe much further; and there is the more reaſon to think ſo, becauſe Mr. Townſhend found, that in another road it reached to Auxere, where he loſt it. *Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 46.

much

much indented and irregular; for to the W. of Auch, and all beyond it to Bayonne, is too inferior to be admitted; and to the E. Mirepoix, Pamiers, and Carcaſſone are among the hills, and all the way from Agen to Bourdeaux, though the river flows through one of the richeſt vallies that is to be ſeen in the world, yet the breadth appeared to be every where inconſiderable. Through all this plain, wherever the ſoil is found excellent, it conſiſts uſually of a deep mellow friable ſandy loam, with moiſture ſufficient for the production of any thing; much of it is calcareous. White limeſtone and white chalky loams are found about Cahors, &c. and white loams more tenacious near Montauban. At Tonance, on the Garonne, they are red, and apparently as good at ten feet deep as on the ſurface.

In travelling from Narbonne to Beziers, Pezenas, Montpellier, and Nimes, every one I converſed with repreſented that vale as the moſt fruitful in France. Olives and mulberries, as well as vines, render it very productive; but in point of ſoil (the only circumſtance I conſider at preſent), much the greater part of it is inferior to all I have named. The Bas Poitou, as I was informed by a perſon who reſides in it, is of a fertility that deſerves to be claſſed with the richeſt ſoils of France, extending 18 leagues by 12, or 216 ſquare leagues, which, at 5,786 arpents per leagues, are 249,776 arpents. 100,000 arpents of rich marſhes have been drained there*. Being alſo informed at

* *Des Canaux de Navig.* Par M. de la Lande, p. 391.

Nantes, that there was a very rich track to the S. of the Loire, in the quarter of Bourgneuf and Macheoul, I have extended the region of good land to that river, as ſeen in the annexed map.

The narrow plain of Alſace, the whole fertile part of which hardly exceeds the ſurface of 1000 ſquare miles, muſt be claſſed among the richeſt ſoils of France. It reſembles Flanders a good deal, though inferior to that fine province. It conſiſts of a deep rich ſandy loam, both moiſt and friable, equal to the large production of all ſorts of crops. A more celebrated diſtrict is the Limagne of Auvergne, a flat, and chiefly a calcareous vale, ſurrounded by great ranges of volcanic mountains. It is certainly one of the fineſt ſoils in the world. It commences at Riom; the plain there is of a beautiful dead level of white calcareous loam, the whole ſurface of which is a real marl, but ſo mixed with *humus* as to be of prime fertility. The French naturaliſts, that have examined it, aſſert the depth to be twenty feet of beds of earth, formed of the ruins of what they ſtyle the primitive (granite) and volcanized mountains. At Iſſoire, Dr. Brés ſhewing me his farm, in an inferior part of the Limagne (for the beſt of it reaches no farther than from Riom to Vaires, which is ſcarcely more than twenty miles), made me obſerve, that the river had, in all probability, formed the whole plain, as it was adding rapidly to his land, and had given him a depth very perceptible in a few years, having buried the gravelly ſhingle of its bed, by depoſiting a rich ſurface of

ſandy

ſandy mud. The vale here, on the banks, is ſeven or eight feet deep of rich brown ſandy loam. On the contrary, there are philoſophers who contend for the whole having been a lake. The mountains that ſurround this vale are various. The white argilaceous ſtone, in the hills between Riom and Clermont, is calcareous. The volcanic mountains are found to be better than the others, except in the caſe of *tufa* or cinders, which are ſo burnt as to be good for nothing. The calcareous and clayey ones good, and the baſaltes decompoſed and become excellent clay. Their baſe is commonly granite. The calcareous ſandy ſtones, and the argilaceous calcarous earths are heaped on them by the action of volcanoes, according to the theory of the French philoſophers. The fertility that reſults from the volcanic origin of mountains, has been often remarked, and eſpecially in the caſe of Etna; the ſame fact appeared in many tracts of country as I paſſed from Le Puy to Montelimart, where many conſiderable mountains are covered with beautiful cheſnuts, and various articles of cultivation, which in diſtricts not volcanic are waſte, or in a great meaſure uſeleſs.

I have now noticed all the diſtricts of France, which, to my knowledge, are of any remarkable fertility: they amount, as it will be ſhown more particularly in another place, to above 28 millions of Engliſh acres.

Of the other provinces, Bretagne is generally gravel, or gravelly ſand, commonly deep, and on a gravelly bottom, of an inferior and barren nature,

nature, but in many places on ſand ſtone rock. I tried various ſpecimens, but found none calcareous; and having ſeen a ſhip at Morlaix unloading lime-ſtone from Normandy, I may conclude, that the fact does not contradict the concluſion which I drew from the eye. All that I ſaw in the two provinces of Anjou and Maine are gravel, ſand, or ſtone—generally a loamy ſand or gravel; ſome imperfect ſchiſtus on a bottom of rock; and much that would in the weſt of England be called a *ſtone-braſh*, and that would do excellently well for turneps: they have the friability, but want the putrid moiſture and fertile particles of the better loams. Immenſe tracks, in both theſe provinces, are waſte, underling, fern, furze, &c. but the ſoil of theſe does not vary from the cultivated parts, and, with cultivation, would be equally good. Touraine is better; it contains ſome conſiderable diſtricts, eſpecially to the ſouth of the Loire, where you find good mixed ſandy and gravelly loams on a calcareous bottom; conſiderable tracks in the northern part of the province are no better than Anjou and Maine; and, like them, it is not without its heaths and waſtes. Sologne is one of the pooreſt and moſt unimproved provinces of the kingdom, and one of the moſt ſingular countries I have ſeen. It is flat, conſiſting of a poor ſand or gravel, every where on a clay or marl bottom, retentive of water to ſuch a degree, that every ditch and hole was full of it: the improvement of ſuch a country is ſo obviouſly effected on the eaſieſt principles, that it is a ſatire on the French government,

ment, and on the individuals who are owners or occupiers of eſtates in this province, to ſee it remain in ſuch a miſerable condition. Berry is much better, though both ſandy and gravelly; but good loams, and ſome deep, are not wanted in ſome diſtricts, as that of Chateauroux, on quarries, and near Vatan on calcareous ones. La Marche and Limoſin conſiſt of friable ſandy loams; ſome on granite, and others on a calcareous bottom. There are tracts in theſe provinces that are very fertile; and I ſaw none that ſhould be eſteemed ſteril. Of the granite, they diſtinguiſh two ſorts; one hard, and full of micaceous particles; the grain rather coarſe, with but little quartz, hardening in the air in maſſes, but becoming a powder when reduced to ſmall pieces;—this is uſed for building. The other ſort is in horizontal ſtrata, mixed with great quantities of ſpar, uſed chiefly for mending roads, which it does in the moſt incomparable manner. I was aſſured at Limoges, that, on the hard granite, there grow neither wheat, vines, nor cheſnuts; but upon the other kind, thoſe plants thrive well: I remarked, that this granite and cheſnuts appeared together on entering Limoſin; and that, in the road to Toulouſe, there is about a league of hard granite without that tree. The rule, however, is not general; for ſo near as to the S. of Souilac, cheſnuts are on a calcareous ſoil.—Poitou conſiſts of two diviſions, the upper and the lower; the laſt of which has the reputation of being a much richer country, eſpecially the graſs lands on the coaſt. The ſoil

of

of the upper diviſion is generally a thin loam, on an imperfect quarry bottom—a ſort of *ſtone-braſh*; in ſome tracts calcareous: it muſt be eſteemed a poor ſoil, though admirably adapted to various articles of cultivation. I have already obſerved, that all I ſaw of Angoumois is chalk, and much of it thin and poor. Thoſe parts of Guienne and Gaſcogne, not included in the rich vale of the Garonne, of which I have already ſpoken, muſt be conſidered in reſpect of ſoil as poor. The *landes* (heaths) of Bourdeaux, though neither unproductive, nor unimproveable, are in their preſent ſtate to be claſſed amongſt the worſt ſoils in France. I have been aſſured, that they contain 200 leagues ſquare; and the roots of the Pyrenees are covered with immenſe waſtes, which demand much induſtry to render profitable. Rouſſillon is in general calcareous; much of it flat and very ſtoney, as well as dry and barren: but the irrigated vales are of a moſt exuberant fertility. The vaſt province of Languedoc, in productions one of the richeſt of the kingdom, does not rank high in the ſcale of ſoil: it is by far too ſtoney:—I take ſeven-eights of it to be mountainous. I travelled near four hundred miles in it, without ſeeing any thing that deſerved the name of an extenſive plain, that of the Garonne, already mentioned (part of which extends within the limits of Languedoc), alone excepted. The productive vale, from Narbonne to Niſmes, is generally but a few mile in breadth; and conſiderable waſtes are ſeen in moſt parts of it. Many of the mountains are productive, from irrigation, as I have

have obſerved too in the volcanic territory of the Vivarais. Some parts of the vale are however very rich; and indeed there are few finer ſoils in France, than what I ſaw near the canal, in going from Beziers to Carcaſſonne. A rich mellow loam, tenacious, and yet friable; in ſome ſtages the particles adhere into clods; in others they recede and melt with friability. Provence and Dauphiné are mountainous countries, with the variation of ſome lovely plains and vallies, which bear a very inconſiderable proportion to the whole. Of theſe two provinces, the former is certainly the drieſt, in point of ſoil, in the kingdom. Rock and quarry-land, with ſandy gravels, abound there; and the courſe of the Durance, which in ſome countries would be a fine vale, is ſo ruined by ſand and ſhingle, that, on a moderate calculation, above 130,000 acres have been deſtroyed, which would have been the fineſt ſoil in the country, if it had not been for that river. All I ſaw in both the provinces is calcareous; and I was informed, that the greater part of the mountains of Provence are ſo. Theſe, towards Barcelonette, and in all the higher parts of the province, are covered with good graſs, that feeds a million of emigrating ſheep, beſides vaſt herds of cattle. With ſuch a ſoil, and in ſuch a climate, a country muſt not be thought unproductive becauſe mountainous.—The vales which I ſaw are in general fine: that of the Rhone at Loriol, in Dauphiné, is rich,—an admirable ſandy clay, five or ſix feet deep, on a bed of blue marl, with many ſtones in it. But more

to the S. from Montelimart to Orange, this great river paſſes through ſoils much inferior. The north plain of this province, as we go from Savoy to Lyons conſiſts much of a good deep red loam, on a gravel bottom. The county of Venaiſin, or diſtrict of Avignon, is one of the richeſt in the kingdom. Its admirable irrigation, is, of itſelf, ſufficient to make it appear ſo; but I found the ſoil to conſiſt of rich deep loam, with white and calcareous clays. The whole coaſt of Provence is a poor ſtony ſoil, with exceptions of very ſmall ſpaces under happier circumſtances. About Aix, the land is all calcareous, even the clays that are red and ferruginous. This province, however, contains one of the moſt ſingular diſtricts in the kingdom, namely, that of the Crau, which is a ſtony plain to the S. E. of Arles, not containing leſs than 350 ſquare miles, or 224,000 acres. It is abſolutely covered with round ſtones of all ſizes, ſome of which are as large as a man's head. The ſoil under them is not a ſand, but appears to be a kind of cemented rubble of fragments of ſtone, with a ſmall mixture of loam. The naturaliſt who has deſcribed this province, ſays, they are of a calcareous nature, with neither the grain nor texture of flint; in ſome quartzoſe molecules predominate—and others are metallic*. Vegetation is extremely thin, as I ſhall mention more particularly when I treat of the paſturage of ſheep in France.

* Hiſtory Nat. de la Provence, 8vo. 3 tom. 1782. tom. 1. p. 290.

The

The Lyonois is mountainous, and what I ſaw of it is poor, ſtony, and rough, with much waſte land. In paſſing from Lyons to Moulins, it is, near Roanne, on the limits of the province, before the gravelly plain of the Loire commences, the ſame which M. La Metherie calls the calcareous plain of Montbriſſon.

Auvergne, though chiefly mountainous, is not a poor province; the ſoil, for a hilly country, is in general above mediocrity, and the higheſt mountains feed vaſt herds of cattle, which are exported to a conſiderable amount. Beſide a variety of volcanic ſoils, Auvergne is covered with granite and gravelly and ſandy loams.

The Bourbonnois and Nevernois, form one vaſt plain, through which the Loire and the Allier paſs; the predominant ſoil, in much the greater part, is gravel; I believe commonly on a calcareous bottom, but at conſiderable depths; ſome tracks are ſandy, which are better than the gravels; and others are very good friable ſandy loams. The whole, in its preſent cultivation, muſt be reckoned amongſt the moſt unproductive provinces of the kingdom, but capable of as great improvement, by a different management, as any diſtrict in France.

Burgundy is exceedingly diverſified, as I found in croſſing it from Franche Comté to the Bourbonnois by Dijon, I ſaw the beſt of it; that line is through ſandy and gravelly loams; ſome good vales, ſome mountains, and ſome poor granite ſoils. The ſubdiviſion of the province, called Breſſe, is

a miſerable country, where the ponds alone, moſtly on a white clay or a marl, amount, as it is aſſerted by an inhabitant †, to ſixty-ſix ſquare leagues of 2000 toiſes, not much leſs than 250,000 acres. This is credible from the appearance of them in the map of Caſſini.

Franche Comté abounds with red ferruginous loams, ſchiſtus, gravel, with lime-ſtone in the mountains very common; and I ſhould remark, that all the ſtones I tried, ſome of which were from quarries between Befort to Dole, effervesced with acids. From Beſançon to Orechamps the country is rocky, quite to the ſurface much lime-ſtone; a reddiſh brown loam on rock; with iron forges all over the country. The whole province is very improveable.

Loraine is poor in ſoil; from St. Menehould to the borders of Alſace I ſaw ſcarcely any other than ſtony ſoils, of various denominations; moſt of them would in England be called *ſtone-braſh*, or the broken and triturated ſurface of imperfect quarries, mixed by time, foreſt, and cultivation, with ſome loam and vegetable mould—much is calcareous. There are indeed diſtricts of rich, and even deep friable ſandy loams; but the quantity is not conſiderable enough to deſerve attention in a general view. I have already remarked, that the predominant feature of Champagne is chalk; in great tracks it is thin and poor; the ſouthern

† Obſervations, expériences, & memoires ſur L'Agriculture; par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1789. p. 270.

part,

part, as from Chalons to Troyes, &c. has, from its poverty, acquired the name of *pouilleux*, or louſy. The appropriating of ſuch land to ſainfoin is little known there.

I have now made the tour of all the French provinces, and ſhall in general obſerve, that I think the kingdom is ſuperior to England in the circumſtance of ſoil. The proportion of poor land in England, to the total of the kingdom, is greater than the ſimilar proportion in France; nor have they any where ſuch tracks of wretched blowing ſand as are to be met with in Norfolk and Suffolk. Their heaths, moors, and waſte not mountainous, what they term *lande*, and which are ſo frequent in Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, are infinitely better than our northern moors; and the mountains of Scotland and Wales cannot be compared in point of ſoil, with thoſe of the Pyrenees, Auvergne, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. Another advantage almoſt ineſtimable is, that their tenacious loams do not take the character of clays, which in ſome parts of England are ſo ſtubborn and harſh, that the expence of culture is almoſt equal to a moderate produce. Such clays as I have ſeen in Suſſex, I never met with in France. The ſmallneſs of the quantity of rank clay in that kingdom is indeed ſurpriſing.

Face of the Country.

THE chief diſtinction that marks the faces of different countries, is that of being mountainous or level.

level. In the language, as well as in the ideas common in France, mountains are ſpoken of, to which we ſhould give no other appellation than that of hills: the tracks really mountainous in that kingdom are to be found in the S. only. It is four hundred miles S. of Calais before you meet with the mountains of Auvergne, which are united with thoſe of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, but not with the Pyrenees, for I croſſed the whole S. of France, from the Rhone to the ocean, either by plains or ranges of inconſiderable hills. The mountains of Voge, in Loraine, deſerve, perhaps, that name, but yet are not to be ranked with the ſuperior elevations I have noticed. The inequalities of all the reſt of the kingdom are ſufficient to render the proſpects intereſting, and to give variety to the face of the country, but they deſerve not to be called mountains. Some of the hilly and mountainous tracks of France receive a very conſiderable beauty from the rich and luxuriant verdure of cheſnuts. To thoſe who have not viewed them, it is not eaſy to believe how much they add to the beauty of the Limoſin, the Vivarais, Auvergne, and other diſtricts where they are common. There is no doubt that the Pyrenees are more ſtriking than all the other mountains of France. I have deſcribed them ſo particularly in the Journal, that I would only obſerve in general here, that their verdure, their woods, their rocks, and their torrents have all the characters of the ſublime and beautiful. I ſaw nothing among the Alps that offered ſuch pleaſing ſcenes as thoſe of the nothern parts of Dauphiné;

Dauphiné; which, however, are leſs varied than thoſe in the neighbourhood of Chambery ſo abounding in landſcapes. According to every account, the courſe of the Iſer is a ſcene of perpetual beauty. The Vivarais, and part of Velay, are moſt romantic.

Of the great rivers of France I prefer the Seine, which is every where an agreeable object. I ſhould ſuppoſe the reputation of the Loire muſt have originated from perſons who either had never ſeen it at all, or only below Angers, where in truth it merits every *eloge*. From that city to Nantes it is, probably, one of the fineſt rivers in the world, the breadth of the ſtream, the iſlands of woods, the boldneſs, culture, and richneſs of the coaſt, all conſpire, with the animation derived from the ſwelling canvaſs of active commerce, to render that line eminently beautiful; but for the reſt of its immenſe courſe, it exhibits a ſtream of ſand; it rolls ſhingle through vales inſtead of water, and is an uglier object than I could poſſibly have conceived, unleſs I had actually ſeen it. The Garonne receives more beauty from the country through which it flows than it confers upon it; the flat banks, fringed with willows, are deſtructive of beauty. I am not equally acquainted with the Rhone; where I ſaw it, from Montelimart to Avignon, and again at Lyons, it does not intereſt me like the Seine. The courſe of the Soane is marked by a noble track of meadows.

In regard to the general beauty of a country, I prefer Limoſin to every other province in France.

The

The banks of the Loire below Angers, and thoſe of the Seine, for two hundred miles from its mouth, ſuperior, undoubtedly, in point of rivers, the capital feature of the country; but the beauty of the Limoſin does not depend on any particular feature, but the reſult of many. Hill, dale, wood, incloſures, ſtreams, lakes, and ſcattered farms, are mingled into a thouſand delicious landſcapes, which ſet off every where this province. Incloſures, which add ſo much ornament to the face of the country, would furniſh obſervations, but I muſt treat of them expreſsly in a more important view.

Of the provinces of the kingdom, not already named, none are of ſuch ſingular features as to demand particular attention. The beauties of Normandy are to be found on the Seine, and thoſe of Guienne on the Garonne. Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou have the appearance of deſerts; and though ſome parts of Touraine are rich and pleaſing, yet moſt of the province is deficient in beauty. The fertile territories of Flanders, Artois, and Alſace are diſtinguiſhed by their utility. Picardy is unintereſting. Champagne in general, where I ſaw it, ugly, almoſt as much ſo as Poitou. Loraine, and Franche Comté, and Bourgogne are *ſombre* in the wooded diſtricts, and want chearfulneſs in the open ones. Berry and La Marche may be ranked in the ſame claſs. Sologne merits its epithet, *triſte*. There are parts of the Angoumois that are gay, and conſequently pleaſing.

It

It may be uſeful to thoſe who ſee no more of France than by once paſſing to Italy, to remark, that if they would view the fineſt parts of the kingdom, they ſhould land at Dieppe and follow the Seine to Paris, then take the great road to Moulins, and thence quit it for Auvergne, and paſs to Viviers, on the Rhone, and ſo by Aix to Italy. By ſuch a variation from the frequented road, the traveller might ſuffer for want of good inns, but would be repaid by the ſight of a much finer and more ſingular country than the common road by Dijon offers, which paſſes, in a great meaſure through the worſt part of France.

CHAP. III.

Of the Climate of France.

OF all the countries of Europe there is not, perhaps, one that proves the importance of climates, ſo much as France. In the natural advantages of countries, it is as eſſential as ſoil itſelf; and we can never attain to an idea tolerably correct, of the proſperity and reſources of a country, if we do not know how clearly to aſcertain the natural advantages or diſadvantages of different territories, and to diſcriminate them from the adventitious effects of induſtry and wealth. It ſhould

be a principal object with thoſe who travel for the acquiſition of knowledge, to remove the vulgar prejudices which are found in all countries among thoſe who, not having travelled themſelves, have built their information on inſufficient authorities.

France admits a diviſion into three capital parts; 1, of vines; 2, of maiz; 3, of olives—which plants will give the three diſtricts of, 1, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2, the central, in which maiz is not planted; 3, the ſouth, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maiz are all found. The line of ſeparation between vines and no vines, as I obſerved myſelf, is at Coucy, ten miles to the N. of Soiſſons; at Clermont, in the Beauvoiſois; at Beaumont, in Maine; and Herbignac, near Guerande, in Bretagne. Now there is ſomething very remarkable in this, that if you draw a ſtrait line on the map from Guerande to Coucy, it paſſes very near both Clermont and Beaumont; the former of which is a little to the north of it, and the latter a little to the ſouth. There are vines at Gaillon and La Roche Guyon, which is a little to the N. of this line; there are alſo ſome near Beauvais, the moſt remote from it which I have ſeen; but even this diſtance is inconſiderable; and the melancholy ſpectacle of the vintage of 1787, which I ſaw there in the midſt of inceſſant rains, is a proof that they ought to have nothing to do with this branch of culture: and at Angers I was informed, that there are no vines, or next to none, between that place and Laval and Mayenne.

enne. Having made this remark on the vine climate of France, I wiſh to know how far the fact held true in Germany; becauſe, if the circumſtance aroſe from a difference of climate, it ought, by parity of reaſon, to be confirmed by vines in that country being found much farther north than in France. This happens preciſely to be the caſe; for I find, by a late author, that vines in Germany are found no farther north than lat. 52*. The meeting with theſe in that latitude is a ſufficient proof of the fact in queſtion, ſince in France their limit is at 49½. The line, therefore, which I have drawn as the boundary of vines in France, may be continued into Germany, and will probably be found to aſcertain the vine-climate in that country, as well as in France. The line of ſeparation between maiz and no maiz is not leſs ſingular; it is firſt ſeen on the weſtern ſide of the kingdom, in going from the Angoumois and entering Poitou, at Verac, near Ruffec. In croſſing Loraine, I firſt met with it between Nancy and Luneville. It is deſerving of attention, that if a line is drawn from between Nancy and Luneville to Ruffec, that it will run nearly parallel with the other line that forms the ſeparation of vines: but that line acroſs the kingdom, is not formed by maiz in ſo unbroken a manner, as the other by vines; for in the central journey, we found it no farther north than Douzenach, in the S. of the Limoſin; a variation, how-

* *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne, par M. Le Compte de Mirabeau.* tom. 2. p. 158.

ever, that does not affect the general fact. In croſſing from Alſace to Auvergne, I was neareſt to this line at Dijon, where is maiz. In croſſing the Bourbonnois to Paris, there is an evident reaſon why this plant ſhould not be found, which is the poverty of the ſoil, and the unimproved huſbandry of all that country being univerſally under fallow, and rye, which yields only three or four times the ſeed. Maiz demands richer land, or better management.—I ſaw a few pieces ſo far north as near La Fleche, but they were ſo miſerably bad, as evidently to prove that the plant was foreign to that climate. In order to give the reader a clearer idea of this, I have annexed a map, explaining, at one *coup d'œil*, theſe zones or climates, which may be drawn from the productions of France.—The line of olives is pretty nearly in the ſame direction. In travelling ſouth from Lyons, we ſee them firſt at Montelimart; and, in going from Beziers to the Pyrenees, I loſt them at Carcaſſonne: now, the line on the map drawn from Montelimart to Carcaſſonne, appears, at once to be nearly parallel with thoſe of maiz and vines. Hence we may apparently determine, with ſafety, that there is a conſiderable difference between the climate of France in the eaſtern and weſtern parts: that the eaſtern ſide of the kingdom is $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude hotter than the weſtern, or, if not hotter, more favourable to vegetation. That theſe diviſions are not accidental, but have been the reſult of a great number of experiments, we may conclude from theſe articles of culture, in general, gradually

dually declining before you quite loſe them. On quitting the Angoumois, and entering Poitou, we find maiz dwindling to poor crops, before it ceaſes to be cultivated: and in going from Nancy to Luneville, I noticed it in gardens, and then but in ſmall pieces in the fields, before it became a confirmed culture. I made the ſame remark with reſpect to vines. It is very difficult to account for this fact; it ſeems probable that the climate is better when remote from the ſea, than near it, which is contray to numerous other facts; and I have remarked, that vines thrive even in the ſea air, and almoſt fully expoſed to it, at the mouth of the river Bayonne, and in Bretagne. A great many repeated obſervations muſt be made, and with more attention than is in the power of a traveller, before ſuch a ſubject, apparently very curious, can be thoroughly aſcertained. In making ſuch enquiries as theſe, a general culture is alone to be regarded: vines will grow in England; I have maiz now on my farm—and I have ſeen it at Paris: but this is not the queſtion; for it turns ſolely on the climate being ſo well adapted to ſuch articles as to enable the farmer to make them a common culture.

Of the northern climate of France I may remark, that though vines will yield little profit in it for wine, yet there is a ſtrong diſtinction, in reſpect of heat, between it and England, at the ſame time, that much of it is, I believe, to the full as humid as the S. and E. of England. The two circumſtances to be attended to in this enquiry are, the quantity

quantity of fruit and the verdure and richneſs of paſtures. In regard to heat, we muſt attend neither to the thermometer nor to the latitude, but to the vegetable productions. I travelled in the fruit ſeaſon through Artois, Picardy, Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, and I found at every town, I might properly ſay at every village, ſuch a plenty of fruit, particularly plumbs, peaches, late cherries, grapes, and melons, as never can be ſeen in England in the very hotteſt ſummers. The markets of all the towns, even in that poor and unimproved province of Bretagne, are ſupplied with theſe in a profuſion of which we have no idea. It was with pleaſure I walked through the market at Rennes. If a man were to ſee no other in France, lighting there from an Engliſh balloon, he would in a moment pronounce the climate to be totally different from that of Cornwall, our moſt ſoutherly country, where myrtles will ſtand the winter abroad; and from that of Kerry, where the arbutus is ſo acclimated, that it ſeems indigenous, though probably brought from Spain by the original inhabitants of the country. Yet in this province of Bretagne I ſaw no maiz or mulberries, and, except in the corner I have mentioned, has no vineyards. Paris is not ſupplied with melons from provinces to the S. but from Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine.

For the humidity of the climate, I may quote the beautiful verdure of the rich paſtures in Normandy, which are never irrigated. And I was a witneſs to three weeks of ſuch rain at Liancourt,

four

four miles only from Clermont, as I have not known, by many degrees, in England. To the great rains in the N. of France, which render it diſagreeable, may be added the heavy ſnows and the ſevere froſts, which are experienced there to a greater degree than in the S. of England. I am aſſured that the N. of Europe has not known a long and ſharp froſt, which has not been much ſeverer at Paris than at London.

The central diviſion that admits vines without being hot enough for maiz, I conſider as one of the fineſt climates in the world. Here are contained the province of Touraine, which, above all others, is moſt admired by the French; the picturesque province of Limoſin; and the mild, healthy, and pleaſant plains of the Bourbonnois; perhaps the moſt eligible countries of all France, of all Europe, as far as ſoil and climate are concerned. Here you are exempt from the extreme humidity which gives verdure to Normandy and England; and yet equally free from the burning heats which turn verdure itſelf into a ruſſet brown in the S.; no ardent rays that oppreſs you with their fervour in ſummer; nor pinching tedious froſts that chill with their ſeverity in winter; a light, pure, elaſtic air, admirable for every conſtitution except conſumptive ones. But at the ſame time that I muſt commend theſe central provinces of France, for every circumſtance of atmoſphere that can render a country agreeable to inhabit, I muſt guard the reader againſt the idea of their being free from great inconveniencies; they are certainly

certainly ſubject to thoſe in relation to agriculture, which are heavily felt by the farmer. They are ſubject, in common with the olive diſtrict, to violent ſtorms of rain, and what is worſe, of hail. Two years ago, one violent ſtorm of hail ſwept a track of deſolation in a belt acroſs the whole kingdom, to the damage of ſeveral millions of our money. Such extended ruin is not common, for if it were, the fineſt kingdoms would be laid waſte; but no year ever paſſes without whole pariſhes ſuffering to a degree of which we have no conception, and on the whole to the amount of no inconſiderable proportion of the whole produce of the kingdom. It appears, from my friend Dr. Symonds's paper on the climate of Italy *, that the miſchief of hail is dreadful to the utmoſt in that country. I have heard it calculated in the S. of France, that the damage in ſome provinces amounted to one-tenth of the whole produce of them on an average. A few days before my arrival at Barbeſieux, there had fallen, at the duke de la Rocheſoucault's ſeat in the Angoumois, and ſome neighbouring pariſhes, a ſhower of hail that did not leave a ſingle grape on the vines, and cut them ſo ſeverely, as to preclude all hope of a crop the year following, and allowed no well-founded expectation of any beneficial produce even the third year. In another place, the geeſe were all killed by the ſame ſtorm; and young colts were ſo wounded that they died afterwards. It is even aſſerted, that men have been known to be killed by hail, when unable to obtain any ſhelter. This

* Annals of Agriculture, vol. iii. p. 137.

ſtorm

ſtorm deſtroyed a copſe of the duke's that was of two years growth. With ſuch effects, it muſt be obvious to every one, that all ſorts of corn and pulſe muſt be utterly deſtroyed. At Pompinion, between Montauban and Toulouſe, I was witneſs to ſuch a ſhower of rain as never fell in Britain; in that rich vale, the corn, before the ſtorm, made a noble appearance; but imagination can hardly picture a more entire deſtruction than it poured over the whole; the fineſt wheat was not only beaten flat to the ground, but ſtreams of liquid mud covered it in many places, in a manner that made all expectation of recovery hopeleſs. Theſe haſty and violent ſhowers, which are of little conſequence to a traveller, or to the reſidence of a gentleman, are dreadful ſcourges to the farmer, and immenſe drawbacks from the maſs of national products.

A circumſtance of leſs conſequence, but not undeſerving attention, is the froſts which happen in the ſpring. We know in England how injurious theſe are to all the fruits of the earth, and how much they are ſuppoſed to damage even its moſt important products. Towards the end of May 1787, I found all the walnut trees with leaves turned quite black by them, S. of the Loire; and farther to the S. at Brive, we no ſooner ſaw fig trees, for the firſt time, ſcattered about the vineyards, than we remarked them bound about with ſtraw to defend them from the froſts of June. Still more to the S. about Cahors, the walnut trees were black on the 10th of June by froſts, within a fortnight; and we were informed of rye being in ſome years

thus killed; and that rarely there is any ſpring month ſecure from theſe unſeaſonable attacks. In the N. E. quarter I found, In 1789, the froſt of the proceding winter had made a ſad havock amongſt the walnut trees, moſt of which were killed in Alſace, and the dead trees made a ſtrange figure in ſummer; they were left in expectation of their ſhooting again, and ſome few did. From Autun, in Burgundy, to Bourbon Lancy, the broom was all killed. Spring froſts were alſo complained of as much as on the other ſide of the kingdom. About Dijon they ſaid that they have them often late, and they damage or deſtroy every thing. And all the countries within reach of the mountains of Voge are affected by the ſnow that falls upon them, which was in 1789, on the 29th of June. This renders the vineyard an uncertain culture. Perhaps it may ariſe from the late froſts in the ſpring, that we meet with ſo few mulberries in France N. of the olive diſtrict. The profit of that tree is very great, as I ſhall explain fully in another place; yet the diſtricts, where they are found in France, are very inconſiderable, when compared with the extent of the whole kingdom. It has been conceived in England, that the mildew is owing to late froſts; when I found myſelf in a region where rye was ſometimes thus killed in June, and where every walnut hung with black, I naturally enquired for that diſtempter, and found in ſome places, near Cahors for inſtance, that their wheat was perfectly exempt from that malady in many ſprings, when other plants ſuffered the moſt ſeverely;

ſeverely; and we met even with farmers whoſe lands were ſo little ſubject to the diſtemper that they hardly knew it. This ſhould ſeem to ſet aſide the theory of froſts being the cauſe of that malady. As ſpring froſts are as miſchievous in France as they can be with us, ſo alſo there are they troubled with autumnal ones earlier than is common with us. On the 20th of September 1787, in going on the S. of the Loire, from Chambord to Orleans, we had ſo ſmart a one, that the vines were hurt by it; and there had been, for ſeveral days, ſo cold a N. E. wind, yet with a bright ſun, that none of us ſtirred abroad without great coats.

The olive-climate contains but a very inconſiderable portion of the kingdom, and of that portion, not in one acre out of fifty is this tree cultivated. Several other plants, beſide the olive, mark this climate. Thus at Montelimart, in Dauphiné, beſides that tree, you meet with, for the firſt time, the pomgranate, the arbor judæ, the paliurus, figs, and the evergreen oak; and with theſe plants, I may add alſo that deteſtable animal the moſquito. In croſſing the mountains of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, I met, between Pradelles and Thuytz, mulberries and flies at the ſame time; by the term flies, I mean thoſe myriads of them, which form the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance of the ſouthern climates. They are the firſt of torments in Spain, Italy, and the olive diſtrict of France: it is not that they bite, ſting, or hurt, but they buz, teize, and worry: your mouth, eyes, ears, and noſe, are full of them; they ſwarm on every eatable,

fruit, ſugar, milk, every thing is attacked by them in ſuch myriads, that if they are not driven away inceſſantly by a perſon who has nothing elſe to do, to eat a meal is impoſſible. They are, however, caught on prepared paper, and other contrivances, with ſo much eaſe, and in ſuch quantities, that were it not from negligence they could not abound in ſuch incredible quantities. If I farmed in thoſe countries, I think I ſhould manure four or five acres every year with dead flies. Two other articles of culture in this climate, which deſerve to be mentioned, though too inconſiderable to be a national object, are capers in Provence, and oranges at Hieres. The latter plant is ſo tender, that this is ſuppoſed to be the only part of France in which it will thrive in the open air. The whole of Rouſſillon is to the ſouth of this, yet none are to be found there. I went to Hieres to view them, and it was with pain I found them almoſt, without exception, ſo damaged by the froſt, in the winter of 1788, as to be cut down, ſome to the ground, and others to the main ſtem. Vaſt numbers of olives were in the ſame ſituation throughout the whole olive-diſtrict, and abundance of them abſolutely killed. Thus we find, that, in the moſt ſoutherly part of France, and even in the moſt ſheltered and ſecure ſituations, ſuch ſevere froſts are known as to deſtroy the articles of common cultivation.

In the deſcription I took of the climate of Provence, from Monſ. le Preſident, Baron de la Tour d'Aigues, he informed me, that hail, in ſome years, does not break glaſs; but it was mentioned as an extra-

extraordinary thing. The only ſeaſons in which is to be expected rain with any degree of certainty, are the equinoxes, when it comes violently for a time. No dependence for a ſingle drop in June, July, or Auguſt, and the quantity always very ſmall; which three months, and not the winter ones, are the pinching ſeaſon for all great cattle. Sometimes not a drop falls for ſix months together*. They have white froſts in March, and ſometimes in April. The great heats are never till the 15th July nor after the 15th of September. Harveſt begins June 24th, and ends July 15th,—and Michaelmas is the middle of the vintage. In many years no ſnow is to be ſeen, and the froſts not ſevere. The ſpring is the worſt ſeaſon in the year, becauſe the *vent de bize*, the *mæſtrale* of the Italians, is terrible, and ſufficient, in the mountains, to blow a man off his horſe; it is alſo dangerous to the health, from the ſun, at the ſame time, being both high and powerful. But in December, January, and February, the weather is truly charming, with the *bize* very rarely, but not always free from it; for, on the 3d of January 1786, there was ſo furious a *mæſtrale*, with ſnow, that flocks were driven four or five leagues from their paſtures; numbers of travellers, ſhepherds, ſheep and aſſes in the Crau periſhed. Five ſhepherds

* A writer, who has been criticiſed for this aſſertion, was therefore right—"Telle eſt la poſition des provinces du midi ou l'on reſte ſouvent, ſix mois entiers, ſans voir tomber une ſeule goutte d'eau." *Corps complet d'Agri.* tom. 8. p. 56.

were

were conducting eight hundred ſheep to the butcheries at Marſeilles, three of whom, and almoſt all the ſheep, periſhed *. To make a reſidence in theſe provinces agreeable, a man ſhould alſo avoid the great ſummer heats. For during the laſt week in July, and ſome days in Auguſt, I experienced ſuch a heat at Carcaſſonne, Mirepoix, Pamiers, &c. as rendered the leaſt exertion, in the middle of the day, oppreſſive: it exceeded any thing I felt in Spain. It was impoſſible to ſupport a room that was light. No comfort but in darkneſs; and even there, reſt was impoſſible from myriads of flies †. It is true, ſuch heats are not of long duration; if they were ſo, nobody, able to quit the country, would reſide in it. Theſe climates are diſagreeable in ſpring and ſummer, and delicious in winter only. In the Bourbonnois, Limoſin, and Touraine, there is no *vent de bize*. On the mountains above Tour d'Aigues are chiefly found lavendula——thymus——ciſtus roſea——ciſtus albidus——ſorolia bitumina——buxus ſempervirens——querqus ilex——pinus montana——roſmarinus officinalis——rhamnus cathartica——geniſtis montis ventoſa——geniſta hiſpanica——juniperus phœnicia——ſatureja

* *Traité de l'Olivier, par M. Couture.* 2 tom. 8vo. Aix, 1786. tom. 1. p. 79.

† I have been much ſurpriſed that the late learned Mr. Harmer ſhould think it odd to find, by writers who treated of ſouthern climates, that driving away flies was an object of importance. Had he been with me in Spain and in Languedoc, in July and Auguſt, he would have been very far from thinking there was any thing odd in it. *Obſerv. on divers paſſages of ſcripture*, vol. 4. p. 159.

montana

montana——bromus ſylvaticus, &c. In the ſtubbles of all the olive-diſtrict, and in every waſte ſpot are found centaurea calcitrapa——centaurea ſolſtitialis,——alſo the eryngium campeſtrum, and the eryngium amethyſtinum:—they have ſown in Provence, the datura ſtrimonium, which is now habituated to the country. In the mountains, from Cavalero to Frejus, and alſo in that of Eſtrelles, the lentiſcus—myrtus—arbutus—lavendula—ciſtus——and lauruſtinus.

Upon a general view of the climate of France, and upon comparing it with that of countries, not ſo much favoured apparently by nature, I may remark, that the principal ſuperiority of it ariſes from adapting ſo large a portion of the kingdom to the culture of the vine; yet this noble plant is moſt unaccountably decried by abundance of writers, and eſpecially by French ones, though the farmer is enabled to draw as extenſive a profit from poor and otherwiſe barren, and even almoſt perpendicular rocks, as from the richeſt vales.—— Hence immenſe tracks of land may be ranked in France among the moſt valuable, which in our climate would be abſolutely waſte, or at leaſt applied to no better uſe than warrens or ſheep walks. This is the great ſuperiority which climate gives to that kingdom over England:—of its nature and extent, I ſhall treat fully under another head.

The object of the next importance is peculiar to the olive and maiz diſtricts, and conſiſts in the power of having, from the nature of the climate, two crops a-year on vaſt tracks of their arable land;

land; and an early harveſt, and the command of plants, which will not thrive equally well in more northern climates, give them this invaluable advantage. We ſee wheat ſtubbles left in England, from the middle of Auguſt, to yield a few ſhillings by ſheep, which, in a hotter climate, would afford a ſecond crop, yielding food for man, ſuch as millet, the fifty day maiz (the cinquantina of the Italians) &c.; or prove a better ſeaſon for turnips, cabbages, &c. than the common ſeaſon for them here. In Dauphiné, I ſaw buck wheat in full bloſſom the 23d of Auguſt, that had been ſown after wheat. I do no more than name it here, ſince, in another place, it muſt be examined more particularly. Mulberries might in France be an object of far greater importance than they are at preſent, and yet the ſpring froſts are fatal impediments to the culture: that this plant muſt be conſidered for all important purpoſes, as adapted only to ſouthern climates, appears from this, that Tours is the only place I know in France, north of the maiz climate, where they are cultivated for ſilk with any ſucceſs: conſiderable experiments have been made (as I ſhall ſhew in the proper place) for introducing them into Normandy and elſewhere, but with no ſucceſs; and the force of this obſervation is doubled, by the following fact——that they ſucceed much better in the olive climate than in any other part of the kingdom. But that they might be greatly extended, cannot for a moment be doubted. In going ſouth, we did not meet with them till we came to Cauſade, near Montauban. In returning north,

north, we ſaw them at Auch only—a few at Aiguillon, planted by the duke—the promenade, at Poitiers, planted by the intendant—and another at Verteul, by the duke d'Anville; all which are experiments that have not been copied, except at Auch. But at Tours there is a ſmall diſtrict of them: In another direction, they are not met with after Moulins, and there very few. Maiz is an object of much greater conſequence than mulberries; when I give the courſes of the French crops, it will be found, that the only good huſbandry in the kingdom (ſome ſmall and very rich diſtricts excepted) ariſes from the poſſeſſion and management of this plant. Where there is no maize, there are fallows; and where there are fallows, the people ſtarve for want. For the inhabitants of a country to live upon that plant, which is the preparation for wheat, and at the ſame time to keep their cattle fat upon the leaves of it, is to poſſeſs a treaſure, for which they are indebted to their climate. The quantity of all the common ſorts of fruits, which, through the greater part of France, is ſuch as to form a conſiderable object in the ſubſiſtance of the great maſs of the people, is a point of more conſequence than appears at firſt ſight. To balance theſe favourable circumſtances, other countries, not ſo happily ſituated (eſpecially England) have advantages of an oppoſite nature, which are very material in the practice of their agriculture: that humidity of atmoſphere, which the French provinces north of vines enjoy—which England has

in a greater degree, and Ireland ſtill more, and which is better marked by the hygrometer than by the rain gage, is of ſingular importance in the maintenance of cattle by paſturage, and in adapting the courſes of crops to their ſupport. Artificial graſſes, turnips, cabbages, potatoes, &c. thrive beſt in a humid climate. It would take up too much room here fully to explain this; to mention it will be ſufficient for thoſe who have reflected on ſimiliar ſubjects. From a due attention to all the various circumſtances that affect this queſtion, which, relatively to agriculture, is the beſt climate that of France, or that of England?—I have no heſitation in giving the preference to France. I have often heard, in converſation, the contrary aſſerted, and with ſome appearance of reaſon—but I believe the opinion has ariſen more from conſidering the actual ſtate of huſbandry in the two countries, than the diſtinct properties of the two climates. We make a very good uſe of ours; but the French are, in this reſpect, in their infancy, through more than half the kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

On the Produce of Corn, the Rent, and the Price of Land in France.

IN England, we have not the advantage of one uniform meaſure of land; there are three or four different acres in common uſe: but the general ſtatute meaſure of the realm has gained ground rapidly of late years, ſo that the greater part of the counties have rid themſelves of the peſt of cuſtomary meaſure; and where this beneficial effect has not taken place, yet almoſt every man one can converſe with, knows the proportion their own meaſure bears to the ſtatute, which greatly facilitates all agricultural enquiries in this kingdom. In Ireland, the uniformity is ſtill greater; for they have only the Iriſh and the Conyngham meaſure, except in a very few diſtricts that have adopted the Engliſh ſtatute acre. In the meaſure of corn alſo, we have only the variations of the buſhel to guard againſt; for the meaſure is every where a buſhel, and the difference of the contents, not much through the greater part of the kingdom; add to this, that the name and the contents of the ſtatute capacity of eight gallons, is every where underſtood; and that the gallon itſelf is of the ſame contents. In Ireland, the ſtatute barrel of four buſhels takes place univerſally; but in France,

the infinite perplexity of the meaſures exceeds all comprehenſion. They differ not only in every province, but in every diſtrict, and almoſt in every town; and theſe tormenting variations are found equally in the denominations and contents of the meaſures of land and corn. To theſe ſources of confuſion, is added the general ignorance of the peaſantry, who know nothing of the Paris arpent, or the Paris ſeptier, the moſt commonly received meaſure of the kingdom. For the knowledge of a French farmer is limited abſolutely to his farm and his market; he never looks into a newſpaper or a magazine, where the difference of the meaſures of the kingdom would probably ſtrike his attention, many times in his life. And if he were rather better inſtructed, yet, as there are two national meaſures of land, they would occaſion a confuſion of which we can form no judgment: the arpent de Paris, and the arpent de France, are both legal and common meaſures; notwithſtanding which, they are of very different contents; and, what is ſtrange to ſay, are ſometimes confounded by French writers on agriculture, as I ſhall ſhew in more inſtances than one—even by ſocieties in their public memoirs. The denominations of French meaſure, as the reader will ſee, are almoſt infinite, and without any common ſtandard to which they can be referred: the number of ſquare feet in the contents is the only rule to adhere to: yet the foot itſelf varies, and contains, in ſome provinces, as Loraine, but ten inches and a fraction. Even the valuation of money itſelf there

failed

failed me; the meaſure of corn and land peculiar, and the *livre* and *ſol* no longer of the ſame value as in the reſt of France. The donominations of buſhel and acre pervade all England; and the mere denomination leads every where towards proportioning the contents to the common ſtandards; but in France, they have no common denomination: if you travel ſeventy miles from Paris, in ſome directions, you hear no more of the ſeptier, or the arpent: you find the *mine* of land, even within thirty miles of the capital,—and a little farther, you will be bewildered with *franchars* of corn, and *mancos* of land. The only clue tolerably general, that can be in the leaſt relied upon, is drawn from the quantity of ſeed ſown: the meaſure of wheat or rye, and of land alſo, hath often in France the ſame denomination, as *ſeptier ſepteree; quartier, quarteree; manco* of corn and of land: *boiſeau, boiſelee*, &c.—Theſe generally imply, that the meaſure of corn is the quantity of ſeed ſown on the ſame denomination of land. But I have found variations even in this; ſo that great caution is neceſſary before a traveller can note his information. When to this confuſion of meaſures is added the almoſt univerſal ignorance of the people in the provinces, who often know nothing of their own meaſures, and give information totally erroneous, as I have found, from ſuſpecting their authority, by its militating with the idea I formed from the eye, and from applying for certainty to land-ſurveyors *(arpenteurs)*, the reader will be ready to credit me in aſſuring

assuring him, that the labour, perplexity, and vexation, which the present chapter has given me, both in travelling and in writing, has much exceeded any thing I could have conceived before I went abroad; and which no person can believe to the extent of the truth, who has not been engaged under equal difficulties in similar pursuits. After all my labour, it would be a want of candour were I to offer the result thus given as correct. I am confident, that in several articles, and perhaps in more than I suspect, it is not so. I can only say, I think the material errors are not numerous; and that the reader will, in such a labyrinth of difficulties, look rather for the information that is practically to be given, than for that ideal accuracy which is impossible for any individual, much less for a foreigner to attain. The French writers, I have consulted, gave me little or no assistance, where I had so much reason to expect it. Monf. Pauclon's tables of the measures of land and corn, which contain those of some of the provinces, would lead us astray as often as they would guide us. By going through the country, I have found, from five to ten different measures in a province, where he has noted only one—I suppose the legal one of the capital cities.—It is surprising to read French books of agriculture, descriptive of some provinces in France, yet without an explanation of the contents of the measures named repeatedly in those works. Such omissions are totally inexcuseable; for they render books useless, not to foreigners only,

only, but to moſt of their own countrymen! But while accuracy is ſo difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to be acquired under ſuch circumſtances, it is ſome ſatisfaction to conſider, that the reader will here find the very intereſting parts of the produce, rental, and price of land in that vaſt empire, aſcertained upon a larger baſis of enquiry, than can be found in any book hitherto offered to the public; my library abounds more with French georgical authors, as well as thoſe branches of political œconomy which tend to elucidate ſuch queſtions, than any other I have had the opportunity to examine; yet theſe books contain little elſe beſide conjectures, looſe and general ideas, and calculations without data, particularly in giving the groſs produce of the whole kingdom. In a multitude of gueſſes ſome muſt, in the nature of chances, approximate the truth; but ſuch have little more merit, and no more authority, than the wildeſt efforts of imagination; for inquiries of this kind are not to be made in the bureaus of great cities; books and papers will not afford the information: a man muſt travel through the country, or muſt always remain ignorant, though ſurrounded by ten thouſand volumes. Neither is it travelling for other purſuits that will allow this knowledge to be gained; nor moving in public *voitures*, nor flying with rapidity from town to town; nor is it eaſy for one or two men, or even three to effect it; many ſhould be employed for that purpoſe, and paid by government; for aſſuredly the object is of great national

tional importance, particularly in the impoſing of taxes; a buſineſs in which all the legiſlators that have yet ariſen have gone ſo blindedly to work, that their efforts in every country, and in none more than in France, cannot but excite a contempt of their ignorance and deteſtation of their injuſtice. To expect that men will be thus appointed and employed, and, above all, well choſen for the buſineſs, would be childiſh; governments are otherwiſe employed in every country. While, therefore, from the public nothing is to be expected, the private efforts of individuals are ſurely not devoid of merit; who, amidſt great diſadvantages, undertake a work of unqueſtionable utility.

Districts of Rich Loam.

Picardy.

This province has been, by ſo many French writers, extolled for its good and profitable cultivation, that I creſſed it with my attention every where awake to diſcover ſuch merit. I have already obſerved, in ſpeaking of ſoils, that this is uſually very good; the exceptions, where the under ſtratum of chalk riſes too near the ſurface, as is the caſe about Bernay, and more ſtill at Flixcourt, are not of great extent, compared with the rich deep friable loams on a calcareous bottom. The nature of the country demands that I ſhould conſider it as one from Calais to the woods of Chantilly, where a poor country begins;

gins; and, though in the neighbourhood of Paris, it again becomes good, yet we ſhould conſider it ſeparately. From Calais to Bolougne and Montreuil the good lands lets at 24 liv. the journal or arpent of Paris, and the inferior at 12 liv.; the firſt is 1l. 5s. per Engliſh acre *, which is a higher rent than ſimilar land would produce in England, if rent only were conſidered; but our heavy tythes and poor rates being added do occaſion nearly an equality. Near Berney the ſoil, and with it the rent, declines, riſing from 8 to 12 liv. the arpent. It would be uſeleſs to add always the proportion per Engliſh acre; I juſt obſerved, that 24 liv. per arpent equals 25s. per acre; 12 liv. are palpably the half, and 8 liv. two-thirds of that. It riſes to 24 liv. again at Ally-le-haut Clochers, where they reckon their wheat crops at $5\frac{1}{2}$ louis, when corn ſells high, this is 20 buſhels per acre; and ſpring corn the ſame, which, on ſuch land, is a miſerable produce. At Flixcourt the chalk riſes to the ſurface, and the rents are ſo low as 2 liv. to 5 liv. which would be much under the value, if they knew what to do with it, yet the country is not without ſainfoin. At Picquigny rent regains the 24 liv. but at Hebecourt and Breteuil not more than 15 or 16 liv.; here they value wheat at 60 liv. the arpent, and ſpring corn at 30 liv. Near Clermont the land is good and the rent high, and from thence to Creil by Liancourt is a vale

* Wherever *acre*, *quarter*, *buſhel*, *gallon*, &c. are named, Engliſh meaſure is implied.

of exceedingly rich loam. The rent from Calais to Clermont is pretty regular, the beſt land 24 liv. the middling 15 liv. and the chalks 4 liv. to 8 liv. The produce of the firſt is about 24 buſhels per acre, and of the ſpring corn 22. Landed property, upon an average, through Picardy pays 3 per cent.; but if bought with judgment and attention $3\frac{1}{2}$, and in ſome caſes 4. On the other hand, I was told that ſome eſtates did not return more than $2\frac{1}{2}$, but this is rare. They have in general in France a very falſe idea of the good huſbandry of this province: Monſ. Turgot was not free from the error, when he named it in the ſame breadth with Flanders *.

Iſle of France.

In the country about Arpajon rents vary from 15 to 24 liv. and ſome capital arable lands are at 30 liv.; but here we enter upon a new meaſure of land, for the arpent of the Gatinois is 100 perch of 20 feet, or 40,000 feet, 24 liv. may be taken as the medium; in general in the Gatinois the good land is at 20 liv. and the ordinary at 10 liv.; at 20 liv. it is 16s. 9d. per acre. The product of wheat is ſtated at ſix ſeptiers of Paris, of 240lb. per arpent, which, if we attend to the French pound, is to the Engliſh as 1,0000 to 0,9264, and alſo as to meaſure equals twenty-three buſhels per acre, ſpring corn thirty buſhels. Within two leagues of Eſtampes there is much ſand, the rent of

* *Lettre ſur les Graines*, p. 43.

which

which is 3 liv. 10*s.* and 4 liv. the arpent; this yields rye only; the good wheat land in the neighbourhood gives rent and produce as above noted. From hence through Toury, to the foreſt of Orleans, is part of the great plain called the *Pays de Beauce*, ſo much celebrated in France for its good huſbandry:—it is, like all Picardy, fallowed for wheat, and conſequently there is no good huſbandry; but the ſoil is a rich loam on a white marl, and therefore, by fallow and dung, gives good wheat. I have three notes of the produce;—1, five Paris ſeptiers per arpent; 2, twenty-one mines, each 60lb.; 3, to the value of 100 liv. and, ſpring corn 50 liv. The firſt is about $19\frac{1}{2}$ buſhels; the ſecond is 22 buſhels; the third is the ſame nearly as the firſt: they agree tolerably well, and unite with what I ſaw to calculate the wheat produce at twenty-one buſhels per acre. I ſaw no ſpring corn of any tolerable appearance. The rent is from 15 to 18 liv. per arpent, or 15*s.* per acre. Price 500 liv. that let at 20 liv. per annum (20*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*) On my return to Paris, I croſſed another part of this rich tract, in going from Orleans to Fontainbleau. I gained information at Shiloar, Denainvilliers, Malſherbs, and La Chapel la Reine: the intelligence was pretty uniform. Rent of the good land 20 to 24 liv. (18*s.* 5*d.*); of the inferior 14 liv. (12*s.*) Price 350 to 600 liv. The notes of the produce of wheat are not equally uniform; at Denainvilliers ſix to eight ſacks, each 250lb. this is thirty buſhels an acre; oats four to ten ſacks. At Malſherbs they aſſured

me that wheat has been known, not uncommonly, to yield twenty-five mines, each four boiſeau, of 25lb. this is about forty-three buſhels an acre: but they admitted that fifteen mines were much more common. At La Chapelle good crops, eighty to an hundred boiſeau, each 15lb. or twenty-three buſhels; alſo, that an arpent of wheat is commonly of the value of 90 liv. and oats of 50 liv. Paſſing the vaſt foreſt of Fontainbleau, which of courſe affords nothing to the preſent purpoſe, I renewed the inquiries at Meulan: the ſoil in that vicinity, and for ſome extent of country, conſiſts of two kinds, which are diſtinguiſhed by their productions, wheat and rye,—the wheat land lets at 18 liv. per arpent (15s. 2d.) and ſells at 500 liv. (20l. 18s. 4d.) The rye ſoil lets at 6 liv. (5s. 2d.) and ſells at 220 liv. (8l. 16s.) The arpent the ſame meaſure as hitherto, an hundred perch of twenty feet. The product of wheat is ſix ſeptiers (twenty-three buſhels), and of oats the ſame that is three double ſeptiers. A late writer ſtates the common produce of ordinary land, in the environs of Paris, at two hundred gerbs or ſheaves per arpent, yielding four ſeptiers *. Paſſed Paris and its neighbourhood, by St. Denis to Liancourt. The rich vale which extends to Clermont, and which I mentioned before, ſome of which is arable, lets ſo high as 33 liv. the mine, or half an arpent of an hundred perch, of twenty-two feet, or 48,400

* *Correſpondence rurale*, par M. Bretonniere, Tom. ii. p. 86.

feet;

feet; this is 46s. Engliſh money and meaſure: much, however, is at 25s. or 35s. the acre, and 18 liv. more common; poor hills 3 to 5 liv. The wheat produce of theſe fine lands was ſtated to me at ſixteen to eighteen quintals (hundred pounds), ſeventeen are equal to twenty-four one-half buſhels an acre; but I know not how to think it poſſible that ſuch a rent ſhould be paid for lands which give no better produce, and yet the wretched appearance of the crops of ſpring corn late in autumn would ſeem to juſtify the calculation. Oats, they ſay, produce on an average fourteen quintals, which is the crop from land of half the value in England. The price of good arable in general 800 to 1000 liv. equal to 31l. 10s. an acre; but the beſt is higher. Eſtates pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. net; and conſiderable purchaſes, not being ſold with equal eaſe, yield ſomething more. This fertile vale paſſes Clermont, in the way to Beauvais, for at Brane I found land letting at 30 liv. and at Beauvais gardens at 80 liv. the mine; but there the chalk hills take up much of the country. From that place to Pontoiſe the features continue juſt the ſame: the hills ſand ſtone loams, that let at 8 liv. the arpent of an hundred perch, of twenty feet, equal to 6s. 10d. the acre; but good loams at Marenne 16 to 20 liv. (20 liv. is 16s. 9d.) and produce ſix ſeptiers of wheat (twenty-three buſhels). At Commerle the ſoil is better; the hills let at 12 liv. and much good land up to 30 liv. (1l. 5s. 1d.) where wheat alſo yields ſix ſeptiers and oats eight.

The

The price per arpent in this line is commonly 400 to 500 liv. (the latter 20l. 18s. 9d.); but near Pontoiſe there are lands that riſe to 800 liv: at 600 liv. it is 25l 2s. 6d. Returning to Paris, I took the road to Soiſſons, where is a continued line of noble ſandy loams in this rich diſtrict. From the capital to Dugny rents are 40 liv. for the Paris arpent, or 2l. 1s. 7d. and ſells at 1200 to 1300 liv. or 64l. 18s. 10d. At Dugny it lets at 24 liv. equal to 1l. 5s. To Louvres and Dammertin it ſinks to 20 liv. or 1l. 9d½. and ſells at 700 liv. (35l. 19s.) At the latter place the meaſure changes to one hundred perch at twenty-two feet. Rents there 32 liv. or 1l. 2s. 4d. and the price 1000 liv. equal to 35l. Here wheat produces ſeven ſeptiers, which is twenty-four one-half buſhels: not a good average crop for ſuch a truly fertile ſoil, fallowed and receiving all the dung. They made a great boaſt of wheat riſing ſometimes ſo high as twelve ſeptiers, or forty-two buſhels: oats produce twelve ſacks. At Nanteuil rents are 20 liv. equal to 13s. 2d. The price 5 to 600 liv. or 19l. 4s. 3d. and the product ſix ſeptiers, or twenty-one buſhels. Oats eight ſeptiers. In the way to Villers Coterets rent ſinks to 15 liv. or 9s. 10½d.; and price to 300 liv. (10. 3s. 8d.); and wheat to five ſeptiers, (ſeventeen one-half buſhels). At Soiſſons rent 15 liv. price 4000 liv. and product five ſeptiers. To Coucy, hill and vale, one with another, rent 2 liv. and price 350 liv. At St. Gobin rent 12 to 15 liv.

Picardy.

Picardy.

At La Fere re-enter Picardy, but do not here meet with the arpent of the province. The meaſure eighty verge of twenty-two feet, 38,720 feet. Variations of meaſure now occur at almoſt every town. At St. Quintin they reckon by the ſeptier of land being eighty verge of twenty-four feet, 46,080 feet; this ſpace ſells for 500 to 600 liv or 20l. 1s. 0½d. What throws great perplexity into theſe inquiries here, is the payment or the reckoning of rent by corn. Thus they pay here four to ſeven ſeptiers of wheat, each 60lb. and four of them making a ſack, as rent for each ſeptier of land. Suppoſe wheat, as at preſent, 20 liv. the ſack, it is 5 liv. the ſeptier, and if ſix are paid it is 30 liv. the ſeptier. In ſome caſes, but not all, this rent frees the land for the three years courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; in which caſe the 30 liv. become 10 liv. At La Belle Angloiſe the rent is three ſeptiers of wheat per ſeptier of land. The product twelve ſeptiers on bad land, and twenty on good. On a farm of eight hundred ſeptiers thirty-five horſes are kept; on another, of four hundred ſeptiers, there are twenty. This evidently makes the meaſure about an arpent, as well as the price noted above, and agrees alſo with the produce; hence the St. Quintin meaſure continues here of 46,080 feet,—but the ſeptier of wheat cannot be the quantity of ſeed for a ſeptier of land, which is uncommon.

uncommon. From hence to Cambray, the ſeptier of land produces, on an average, ſix ſacks of wheat, worth now 22 liv. the ſack. And the rent is five ſeptiers of both ſorts of corn; this appears to be five ſeptiers of wheat, or at $5\frac{1}{2}$ or $27\frac{1}{2}$ liv. and five of oats, which, at 10 ſols the Paris boiſeau, the preſent, price is 1 liv. 7*ſ.* the ſeptier, or for five 6 liv. 15*ſ.* in all 34 liv. five for three years, which is 11 liv. 8*ſ.* per annum; a rent very inadequate to the goodneſs of the ſoil and its product.

Flanders.

In the way from Cambray to Valenciennes, I enter this celebrated province, which, among the French themſelves, has the reputation of being the beſt cultivated in the kingdom. The difficulties, however, of gaining intelligence increaſed every ſtep, for not one farmer in twenty ſpeaks French; and all the way to Valenciennes, the confuſion of meaſures, both of land and corn, makes the utmoſt circumſpection neceſſary. The manco of land is ſown with the manco of ſeed wheat, which weighs 80lb. being one-third of a Paris ſeptier; the preſent price is 7 liv. 10*ſ.*— and of a ſack, 22 liv. 10*ſ.* If they ſow as we do, which, from their earlineſs, and the appearance of the young plant, I believe they do, this makes the manco two-thirds of an acre, which agrees very well with the meaſure I took by my eye of a piece, which I was informed contained ſix man-

cos of land, the rent, I was informed, was five to ſeven mancos of the corn produced, or the value per manco of land, ſix will be 480lb. of wheat, or two ſacks 45 liv.; add two ſacks of oats at 5½ liv. it is 56 liv. for three years, or 18 liv. rent per manco, which agrees well enough with the quality of the ſoil, and other circumſtances of the country; it is 23s. 7½d. per acre. For the beſt land, the rent riſes to eight manco of produce, this makes 1l. 11s. 6d. Between Bouchaine and Valenciennes, end the open fields, which have travelled with me, more or leſs, all the way from Orleans. After Valenciennes, the country is incloſed; here alſo is a line of diviſion in another reſpect. The farms in the open country are generally large; but in the rich deep low vale of Flanders, they are ſmall, and much in the hands of little proprietors. A fourth diſtinction alſo is in the huſbandry; from Orleans, nearly to Valenciennes, the courſe is every where ſimilar,—1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn. But in Flanders the land is cropped every year. All theſe circumſtances are ſufficient to prove, that near Bouchaine is the agricultural diviſion between French and Flemiſh huſbandry; and it is to be noted, becauſe the fact is curious, yielding much food to thoſe political reflections, which ariſe in the mind on the contemplation of different governments, that Bouchaine ſtands but a few miles on the Auſtrian ſide of the old frontier of the kingdom. Hence the line of diviſion, formed by theſe four agricultural circumſtances

mentioned above, and being a real diviſion between good and bad huſbandry, are found pretty exactly to agree with the ancient line of ſeparation of the two ſtates of France and Flanders. The conqueſts of the French, as every one knows, puſhed their preſent dominion much further, but this does not obliterate the old diviſions; and it is moſt curious to ſee, that the merit of huſbandry forms, to this day, a boundary that anſwers not to the political limits of the preſent period, but to ancient ones, forming a line diſtinctly traced between the deſpotiſm of France, which depreſſed agriculture, and the free governments of the Burgundian provinces, which cherished and protected it. The diſtinction certainly is not owing to ſoil, for there can hardly be a finer than much the greater part of the vaſt and fertile plain, which reaches, with ſcarcely any interruption, from Flanders nearly to Orleans, a deep mellow friable loam, on a chalk or marl bottom, capable of being applied in all the principles of the Flemiſh huſbandry, but lying under the unprofitable neglect of open fields, and diſgraced with the execrable ſyſtem of fallowing, never found with any degree of regularity, but to the baniſhment of adequate product, profit, and improvement. Paſſing Valenciennes, the flax lands of St. Amand preſent themſelves: they ſpeak of them, on the ſpot, as being the moſt celebrated in Europe,—and the accounts I received at ſeveral towns juſtified the report; but this ſubject being diſtinctly treated, I have only to obſerve,

that

that a quartier of arable land, containing one hundred verge of twenty feet, or 40,000 feet, ſells at 1350 liv. equal to 56l. 10s. 6d. and the rent is 36 liv. for the farm all round per quartier, or 1l. 9s. 9d.—Another account I received, made the average rent of farms 30 liv. or 1l. 6s. 3½d. and the price 1200 liv. (50l. 4s. 6d.) The product of wheat twenty-five to thirty-ſix meaſures per quartier, each 50lb. Thirty ſuch meaſures are equal (as the pound here is nearly the ſame as the Engliſh) to twenty-four buſhels. Not a great produce; but the land is better adapted to flax, than it is to wheat. At Orchies, repeating my enquiries, find, that land is meaſured by the centier, a ſquare of one hundred feet, four of which make a quartier, and four quartiers a bonier. This is therefore the ſame meaſure as at St. Amand's. Rent in common 24 liv. the quartier, equal to 1l. 1s. but ſome at 30 liv. or 1l. 5. 1d. And the price of land 1200 liv. the quartier, equal to 50l. 6s. Their meaſure of wheat is the boiſeau of 36 to 40lb. four of which make a razier or coup; they ſow a boiſeau of 40lb. on a centier of land:———this, proportioned to Engliſh meaſure, is 153lb. to the acre, or about 2½ buſhels. They ſeed, therefore, nearly as we do. On ſo fertile a ſoil, they probably would not ſow ſo much, but for the circumſtance of all their crops ſucceeding ſome other, which will often neceſſarily make their ſeaſon late. In the vicinity of Lille, rents are 36 liv. the quartier, or 1l. 10s. 2¾d. Some not more than 24 liv.

(1l. 1s. 1d.) The price 1200 liv. (50l. 6s.) To Baillcul, rent 24 liv. and price 3120 liv. the bonier, or 780 the quartier, or 32l. 13s 3d. To Montcaſſel, ſoil and huſbandry both decline; the latter circumſtance is remarkable. That excellent management I have admired ſo much in this province on the richeſt ſoils, ſhould not extend, with proper variations, to the poorer, ſeems to indicate, that the general fact of the whole kingdom of France, extends, in ſome meaſure, even hither. Is the ſame fact found in the Auſtrian Flanders?—I ſhall always conſider myſelf as ignorant in huſbandry, till I have well viewed theſe provinces. In this line, from Lille to Montcaſſel, there is a great deal of land, which does not let for more than 12 to 15 liv. the quartier, 11s. $3\frac{1}{4}$d.—To Berg I was informed, that cuſtom has ſubſtituted a meaſure under the ſame denomination but one-fifth larger than what we have hitherto been guided by. Land ſells at 900 liv. or 30l. 2s. $8\frac{1}{2}$d.—rent 26 florins of 25ſ. or 1l. 7s. $7\frac{1}{2}$d.——Here finiſhed the notes of this journey; and as, in the following, I did not paſs into Flanders, I ſhall make one or two obſervations appropriated to that province. In the following notes, the rent and price were both minuted.

Price		Rent
1350 liv.	—	36 liv.
1200	—	30
1200	—	30
1200	—	36
780	—	24
5730		156

This

This proportion is ſcarcely $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is then to be conſidered, that the landlord has his own taxes to pay out of this, when, if he ſtates his account, he probably will not receive more than two per cent. on his capital. This I attribute to the number of ſmall properties, and the conſequent paſſion of the people to become proprietors. They are induced to give more for land than it is worth, and thus raiſe the price of that of all the country. The whole province is full of rich manufacturing and commercial towns; many perſons in theſe are always ready to inveſt their ſavings in land, and to retire to the cultivation of it, circumſtances which ought neceſſarily to have the effect of raiſing the price beyond the proportion of the rent. In the minutes of produce, there does not appear ſo great a ſuperiority over other provinces, as the ſoil and excellent huſbandry ſeem to imply; but it is to be remembered, that in other parts of the kingdom, a year's fallow, two years rent, and all the dung of the farm go for wheat, which makes a moderate crop, in Flanders yield more net profit to the farmer, than three larger crops in Picardy, or the Pays de Beauce, afford to the cultivators of thoſe diſtricts. Wheat is not here the only dependence; flax and cole-ſeed excel it: and beans, carrots, turnips, and a variety of products, receive the farmer's attention, ſufficiently to cover the whole country with cultivation every year: and where this is not the caſe, aſſuredly the products generally taken, and with

with them the net profit, will be much inferior. The ſecond journey began in the ſame rich diſtrict, by paſſing from Calais, to St. Omers.

Picardy.

At Recouſſe, the price of the pooreſt land is 200 to 300 liv. the arpent of one hundred perch, of eighteen feet, or 12l. 19s. 9d.; but the beſt riſes to 1000 liv. or 51l. 19s. 1d. and ſuch lets at 30 liv.—In general rents are 15 to 20 liv. equal to 18s. 2d. the price proportioned. A good crop of wheat, on good land, riſes to four ſeptiers per arpent, and is to be conſidered as extraordinary; common crops four one-half ſeptiers, or twenty-three buſhels. Beans yield eight ſeptiers, or forty-one buſhels; and oats produce eight to ten. It is plain, that this vicinity, on the borders of Artois, partakes more of that province than the miſerable fallowing of Picardy.

Artois.

To St. Omers, price 800 liv. in the vale, and 600 liv. on the hills; rents in the vale 15 to 18 liv.—and on the hills 12 liv.—Oats yield ſixteen raziers, each 120lb. of wheat. Near Aire, the price of the beſt land 1500 liv.; rent 30 liv. and ſome even to 36 liv. But much ſold at 600 liv. and from that price to 1000 liv. Lilliers to Bethune, an Artois meaſure of good wheat is worth 200 liv. but this is not general.

To

To Doulens, price 600 liv.; and rent 12 liv. —Here we re-enter

Picardy.

At Beauval, the price per journal is 700 liv. (25l. 19s.) Good wheat produces ten raziers of 180lb. (thirty-one buſhels) In paſſing from Poix to Aumale, the chalk land ſells at 240 liv.) (12l. 9s. 4d:) Better lands 500 liv. (25l. 19s. 6d.) and the rent 16 liv. (16s. 7½d.)

Normandy.

Near Aumale enter this province, where the meaſure of land is the acre of an hundred and ſixty perch, of twenty feet, or 64,000 feet. Arable here ſells at 800 liv. (21l.); rent, 24liv. to 30 liv. (14s. 10¾d.) Wheat produces to the value of 100 liv. to 120 liv. (2l. 12s. 10d.) Oats, 60 liv. to 70liv. (1l 12s 3d.) In paſſing from Neufchatel to Rouen, price of good arable, 700 to 800 liv. (19l. 13s. 8d.) Open fields, 400 liv. (10l. 10s.) About Rouen, much at 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) and price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) . Eſtates in Normandy, pay 3 per cent.—From Rouen croſs the Pays de Caux to Havre. At Yvetot, price 1000 liv. (26l. 5s.) and rent 35 to 40 liv. (19s. 7¾d.) At La Botte, rents riſe from 30 to 50 liv. (1l. 1s.) But at Havre, where I had opportunities of being very well informed, I underſtood that the whole Pays de Caux, on an average,

let

let at 50 liv. (1l. 4s. 3d.) that the taxes deducted 10 liv. (5s. 3d.); and that the net rent was, to the landlord, 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) the price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) consequently, making about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The produce of wheat, upon these noble soils, is not more than thirty or forty boiseau, of 50lb. per acre (thirty is sixteen bushel) and forty-five or fifty a large crop. Of Oats, they get fifty such boiseau. Shameful products! This for the great mass of the country, here and there are to be found crops something better. I must, upon this, observe, that the whole Pays de Caux is a manufacturing country; the properties usually small; and that farming is but a secondary pursuit to the cotton fabric, which spreads over the whole of it. Wherever this is the case, we may take for granted, that land sells much above its value; for there is a competition to get it, that arises from views distinct from the produce which it is expected to yield. And we may also be equally assured that, in such cases, the soil is badly cultivated, and produces little, on comparison with what mere farmers would make it do. There wants no inquiries into products in the Pays de Caux; the appearance of most I saw was miserable, and such as proved the land to be in an execrable system of management; yet was this the country to which several gentlemen at Paris referred me for examining the immense benefits to agriculture, from manufactures spreading over a whole country, but of this question more in another place. I will only observe here, that wherever,

ver this effect takes place every poſſible effort ſhould be applied to convert the whole country to graſs, in which ſtate even manufactures can hardly hurt it; and let it always be kept in mind, that it is not the price, but the product of land, that a politician ſhould regard. Croſſing the Seine at Havre, and paſſing from Honfleur to Pont au de Mer, rents are from 20 to 40 liv. (13s 1½d.) Enter here the rich paſturages, or grazing lands, of the Pays d'Auge, of which the valley of Corbon is the moſt famous, and claſſes with the fineſt in the world; the beſt here ſell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (54l. 13s. 9d.); let at 70 to 100 liv. (1l. 17s. 2½d.); the price of others, not equally good, 1200 liv. (26l. 5s.) and to 1500 liv. (32l. 16s. 3d.); on the hill ſide there are ſome at the ſame price of 1500 liv. and that let at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d.); woods here ſell at not more than 600 liv. (13l. 2s. 6d.) Examine a paſture that was ſold at 3000 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.), in the way from Liſieux to Caen. In the valley of Corbon, reckoned to contain the richeſt paſturages of Normandy, they have been ſold ſo high as 4000 liv. (87l. 10s.) which were rented at 200 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.), theſe prices of the acre, meaſured by the perch of twenty-two feet: ſome confuſion, however, is always found in reports, owing to their uſing alſo the perch of twenty-four feet, which gives 92,160 feet in an acre; if attention is not paid to this variety of the Norman acres, errors may be the conſequence. Rent of the arable land, for ſome miles from Liſieux, 30 liv. to 50 liv. (17s.

6d.) Caen to Falaiſe, rent 20 liv. to 40 liv. average 25 liv. (10s. 11¼d.). To Argentan rent 35 liv. (15s. 2d.); they ſow five boiſeau of wheat, each 40lb. equal to 110lb. Engliſh per acre, and they reap fifty ſuch (18 buſhels) an acre. Eſtates pay four per cent. being now, 1788, at 24 years purchaſe. Woods in general through Normandy yield 20 liv. but theſe, I believe, are meaſured by the national, and not by the provincial meaſure. About Iſigny the ſalt marſhes let at 100 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.); arable 50 to 60 liv. (1l. 4s. 3½d.). And to Carentan the marſhes are 40 liv. the verge of 40 perch, of 24 feet, (2l. 18s. 4d.), ſome ſo high as 60 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.) At that place rent 40 to 50 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.), but much at 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 11s. ¼d.) If a farm in this vicinity coſts 10,000 liv. it will commonly let at 400 liv.; the price of arable 700 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.). At Nonant come again to the common Norman acre, arable ſell at 800 liv. (17l. 10s.) The rent of which is 40 liv. (17s. 6d.); but in general the price is 500 to 600 liv. (12l. 7½d; paſturage ſells at 1200 to 1500 liv. (29l. 10s. 7½d.) Again entering this great province from Maine at Leſſiniole wheat produces 20 to 40 boiſeau of 60 lb. (16½ buſhels.) In the vicinity of Bernay, there is ſome of the fineſt arable land to be ſeen in the world, which lets at the low rent of 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d. The produce of wheat on it 250 to 300 gerbs of ſix per boiſeau of 90lb. 37 buſhels; but not ſo high on an average. At Brionne, the rent of fine arable is 60 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.) And here alſo

alſo wheat has yielded ſo high as 45 to 50 boiſeau, which equals the Bernay crops. It is to be noted, that theſe rents are thoſe of farms on an average of all their lands, ſome of which are not equal to thoſe noble ſoils, which hardly have an equal. Near Louviers, the rich arable vale lets at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) to 80 liv. (1l. 15s.) Paſſing the poor lands to Rouen, and by the chalk hills to Vernon, croſs the country to La Roche Guyon, where we come once more to the arpent de Paris; good arable ſells at 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 4d.) but in general, at 400 liv. the rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d) and eſtates pay in common 3 to 3½ per cent. In the rich plain of Magny, the rent is 20 liv. and the product of wheat, on the beſt land, riſes, in a good year, to eight ſeptiers of 240lb. but in common ſix (thirty-one buſhels) on good land. Return to Rouen, and again croſs the Pays de Caux to Dieppe, having my former intelligence confirmed in every particular concerning the rent and price of land in that celebrated diſtrict. And as I here quit Normandy, I may, in general, obſerve, on that noble territory, which is conſiderable enough for a kingdom, rather than a province, that its character, for huſbandry, is very much miſtaken in France: before I viewed Normandy, I heard it repreſented as a very finely cultivated province. Nothing too great can be ſaid of the rich paſturages which are applied in fattening bullocks to the higheſt advantage, except in the article of the breed of the ſheep that are found amongſt the cattle. They ought to be large, and bearing long

combing wool; except this point, their herbages, as they call them, are very well managed, and no want of capital appearing among them. But as to arable land, I did not ſee a well cultivated acre in the whole province. You every where find either a dead and uſeleſs fallow, or elſe the field ſo neglected, run out, and covered with weeds, that there can be no crop proportioned to the ſoil. A finer ſoil, than this province in general poſſeſſes, can hardly be ſeen, and would yield a very different product from what is found on it at preſent. The beſt lands, ſays Monſ. Paucton *, in Normandy, yield but a little above ſix fold; the leſs good, or middling, but five, and the greateſt part only four fold.

Iſle of France.

In my third journey, I entered ground new to me, in paſſing from Paris to Guignes. About that place rents are 15 to 20 liv. the arpent de Paris (18s. 3d.) At Nangis, the beſt arable is 15 liv. (15s. 8½d.); middling 12 liv. and the worſt 8 liv. Wheat produces, upon the beſt, five ſeptiers, or twenty-five buſhels in a good year; that of the middling land four ſeptiers; and of the worſt three. From Columiers to Meaux rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d) At that diſtrict, and Neufmoutier, they meaſure by the perch, of twenty-two

* Metrologie. 4to. 1780. p. 610. The paſſage is a ſtrong confirmation of my notes.

feet

feet, or the arpent de la France. Rent 40 liv. (1l. 8s.) for great tracks together, and for ſmall ones 50 liv. and even to 60 liv. (2l. 2s.): and I heard that ſome pieces have reached 100 liv. (3l. 10s.) the higheſt rent I have heard of in France for arable land; the ſoil, however, is amongſt the fineſt to be met with in the world. Such of theſe ſoils, as let commonly at 40 liv. ſell for 15 or 1600 liv. (54l. 4s. 11¾d.) In regard to products, wheat, on the beſt land, gives ten ſeptiers, (35 buſhels), and fifteen are known * (52½ buſhels.) But the common produce is ſeven, tythe deducted (42½ buſhels), much below what it ought to be on this land, which in England, I am confident, would not give leſs than 32 buſhels on an average, without any following. I eſtimate the crops I viewed on the farm of Monſ. Gibert at 36 buſhels an acre on an average. But as to the ſpring corn all is, ſoil conſidered, miſerable. I ſaw none that would reach forty buſhels an acre; it ought, in a good courſe of crops, to produce eighty.—As here terminate my notes on this noble diſtrict of rich loam, the fineſt plain in Europe. Lombardy only excepted, for all the level of Auſtrian Flanders and Holland are parts of it, I ſhall draw, into one view, the various minutes of rent, price, and product of wheat—it is uſeleſs to name ſpring corn, for it is every where really contemptible, except in

* It is aſſerted, that on the farm of Puiſeux, near Meaux, M. Bernier, farmer, reaped twenty-two two-fifths ſeptiers, or above ſeventy buſhels. *Recherches ſur la Houille d' Engaris.* t. 2. p. 5.

Flanders,

Flanders, and there the quantity cultivated is not conſiderable.

Average*,—Rent, 1l. 3s. 10d. Price, 29l. 13s. 3d. Product of wheat, $23\frac{1}{2}$ buſh.

The average of twenty-ſix articles, where both rent and price are noted, is rent, 1l. 1s. 5d. price, 31l. 5s.

Plain of the Garonne.

This diſtrict, though of no ſuch extent as the former, is one of the richeſt in the world. The ſoil is very fine, but not equal, I am inclined to think, to the deep loams of Bernay, Meaux, and Flanders. In climate, however, it far exceeds the northern territory. This is ſo ſuperior, that the products of every kind are much more exuberant, and more valuable, even on inferior ſoils; and the tracks which, in the north of France, would be under ſheep-walk or wood, are here covered with vines, that yield as rich crops as the moſt fertile ſpots of the vales themſelves. As I treat of that branch of culture in a ſeparate chapter, no notice is taken of it in this; a point eſſential for the reader to have in his contemplation, as he examines the ſums here minuted.

* The articles of 4l. 7s. 6d. and 8cl. 4s. 2d. not included.

Quercy.

Quercy.

The meaſure of land is the cartonat, which contains 19,100 feet. In paſſing from Creiſſenſac to Souillac, meadow lets at 30 liv. (2l. 12s. 6d.); the price of arable 400 liv. (35l) and the rent 10 liv. (17s. 6d.) Advancing to the Dordogne the cartonat changes its contents to 30,000 feet; rent of arable here 10 liv. (11s. 3d.) and ſome higher. At Pellecoy they reckon by the ſeſterée which ſells from 100 to 300 liv. but meadows in vallies up to 1200 liv. At Cauſſade the rent of a cartonat is a quartier of wheat, of 150 lb.; reckoning wheat at 20 liv. the ſeptier of 240 lb. this is $12\frac{1}{2}$ liv. (13s. 9d.). To Montauban, we heard of the arpent once more, though not the common meaſure of the country. That of an hundred perch, of twenty-two feet, ſells from 800 to 1000 liv. (31l. 10s.) and the rent of ſuch land is 35 to 40 liv. (1l. 6s. $2\frac{1}{2}$d.) At Pompinion, the price of ordinary land 400 liv. (14l. 8s.); but of rich 800 liv. (28l. 16s.) From thence to Toulouſe, I paſſed through the fineſt plain of wheat I have ever beheld, the ſpace at many views very conſiderable, and promiſing to the eye to produce full five quarters Engliſh per acre on an average. From Toulouſe to Nohe, an arpent 400 liv. (14l. 18s.) At Ourooze meadows 600 liv. the journal; ſome arable ſo low as 100 liv. In returning from the Pyrenees northwards, I entered this rich diſtrict again between Fleuran and Leitour, and here met

met with a new meaſure, the cuzan, which ſells at 1000 to 1200 liv.—and there are that riſe to 3000 liv. Near Leitour, the cuzan ſells for 3200 liv. Towards Eſtafort, they meaſure land by the ſack, being the quantity ſown with a ſack of wheat of 145 lb. good land to 600 liv. The vale from Eſtafort to Port de Leyrac, contains much admirable land. It ſells at 3000 liv. the carterée. I was much perplexed to diſcover the contents of the carterée, and eſpecially as they are not regular in the quantity of ſeed, ſowing in ſome places two quartiers or ſacks, each of 145 lb. and in others only $1\frac{1}{2}$: I am however, from comparing the various circumſtances with M. Paucton's meaſure of Agen, in this immediate vicinity, inclined to calculate the carterée at 70,000 feet, at that meaſure 3000 liv. is 72l. 5s. 9d. Wheat produces 33 ſacks of 145lb. on the beſt land, and in a good year, (40 buſhels). We were ſhewn a field that had produced 48 ſacks ($57\frac{1}{2}$ buſhels). In this reduction I attend to the weight of the country, which is here not *poid de marc*, but *poid de table*. In the vicinity of Agen, the common price is 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) The product of wheat is 30 ſacks (36 buſhels.) Hemp yields ten quintals on the ſame carterée, at 40 liv. the quintal. Rye land, of which there is ſome on the hills, ſells at 1000 liv. (24l. 2s. 1d.) At Port St. Marie, common price 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) At Aiguillon the price of the beſt land 4000 liv. (96l. 8s. 4d.) much at 3000 liv. (72l. 5s. 9d.) Wheat here yields twenty for one of the ſeed. I was ſhewn a ſmall field

field, that was twice ſold for 3000 liv. I ſtepped it carefully, and made it 3600 ſquare yards, which aſcertains the price per Engliſh acre to be (155l. 17s. 3½d.); but it is cloſe to the town, though never uſed for a garden. The ſame piece has often produced in wheat twenty ſacks of 125lb. this is forty-nine buſhels. It is remarkable, that they ſow but one-third of a ſack on it, the produce being ſixty for one. It is under a buſhel an acre Engliſh. At Tonneins the price of a journal, which, by Mr. Pauctон, is to the arpent as 0,9516 to 1,0000, is 1000 to 1200 liv. (80l. 4s. 2d.) To La Motte Landron, the very worſt land in the country bears the price of 400 liv. the journal (20l. 6s.) In one ſtage farther we are plagued with a new meaſure; as it has been ſo often in this diſtrict, it is here 150 perch of 15 feet, or 33,750 feet. The general rate is 1000 liv. (50l.) and much riſes to 1500 liv. (75l.) They ſow this meaſure with a ſack of 140 lb. of wheat, which is about 2¾ buſhels: the product from 16 to 20 ſacks (43 buſhels). They plough one of theſe journals in a day with a pair of oxen. Advancing toward Langon, the pooreſt land is 500 liv. (25l.) In general from 1000 to 1500 liv. (62l. 10s.) They ſow a ſack per journal, and reap twenty. At Caſtres the price of a journal of thirty toiſes by ſeven, is 300 liv. (56l. 15s. 7½d.) And paſſing Bourdeaux and the Garonne, in the way to Cubſac, we find the journal changed again; it is to the arpent of France as 0,6218 is to 1,0000; the price of arable 500 liv. (27l. 17s. 2d.) Wheat

produces eight ſacks of 180 lb each (31 buſhels.) They ſow three-fourths of a ſack. At Cavignac rich land ſells at 1600 liv. (89l. 4s. 11½d.) but they have alſo ſome ſo bad as to be worth no more than 100 liv. (5l. 11s. 6¾d.) From hence we enter another diſtrict, and it will not be improper to pauſe for a moment, and review the intelligence received in this region of uncommon fertility; premiſing, however, that the principal feature of the whole is vines, which do not come into the preſent enquiry, but add immenſely to the products, rendering the inferior ſoils almoſt equal to the beſt.——Average,—Price, 51l. 10s. Product, 37 buſhels*

It is to be obſerved, that the reaſon why a money rent is ſo ſeldom minuted, ariſes from the land being generally at half produce, conſequently no rent in money can be aſcertained; but this is not the ſole reaſon, it reſults alſo from ſmall properties being very numerous in the vicinity of the Garonne, to which circumſtance we muſt have recourſe for explaining ſome of theſe prices. Land always ſells beyond its value where there is much competition for ſmall parcels of it, as we have found in other diſtricts, and the fact will often occur. From the prices at which theſe lands ſell, their prodigious fertility may be imagined. At Aiguillon I was aſſured, that they have many fields that have produced what I calculated

* Rejecting the articles of 155l. 17s. 3d. and 5l. 11s. 6d. and alſo the produce of 57½ buſhels.

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on the ſpot to be equal to 9l. ſterling per acre in wheat, and 15l. in hemp, yielding no other crop but thoſe valuable ones in the rotation, 1, hemp; 2, wheat. If the average of the twelve minutes from Port de Leyrac to Caſtres be taken, it amounts to 70l. an acre, for a line of between fifty and ſixty miles. I am inclined to think that the richeſt ride and moſt flouriſhing country in France, for the eye of a traveller to command, as he keeps the great road, is that from Bourdeaux to Montauban and Toulouſe. Parting from the noble city of Bourdeaux, equalled by very few in the world for commerce and beauty, the magnificent river Garonne, alive with inland trade; one of the moſt fertile vales in Europe; the hills covered with the moſt productive vineyards to be met with perhaps in the world; the towns frequent and opulent; the whole country an inceſſant village, and all gilt and invigorated by a genial ſun. He who has not viewed this animated ſcenery has not ſeen the fineſt thing in France. Flanders, with all its fertility of ſoil, has the foggy climate of the N. and yields a *coup d'œil* every where flat and *ſombre*, nor are her productions, flax excepted of equal value.

Plain of Alſace.

I entered this rich plain at Wiltenheim, where the meaſure of land is one hundred verge, at twenty-two feet; the price from 1500 to 2000 liv. (61l. 5s.) Good wheat crops twelve ſacks of

190 lb. (thirty-three buſhels). Poppies are much cultivated here as well as in Flanders and Artois; they yield ſix ſacks, at 30 liv. a ſack (6l. 6s.) The wheat of the year through this country I ſhould gueſs, from its appearance, at three and a half quarters per acre, and the barley at five. From hence to Straſbourg is by one of the richeſt and beſt cultivated plains to be ſeen, crouded with crops in endleſs and quick ſucceſſion. Land not immediately contiguous to that city, deſigned for gardens, but not planted, ſells at 2000 liv. the arpent of 24,000 feet (138l. 5s. 1d.) Arable land in general, and it appears to be almoſt all ſo, 600 to 800 liv. (48l. 9s. 9½d.); on ſuch land wheat yields four ſacks of 180 lb. (20 buſhels) which is inadequate to the ſoil: barley and beans ſix ſacks. They ſow 60 lb. of wheat (100 lb), and half that quantity, by meaſure, of beans. Eſtates here, as in all the rich diſtricts where the diviſion of property is great, pay but little intereſt for money, in general 2½ to 3 per cent. About Benfelt the price of land riſes to 1200 liv. (58l. 6s. 8d.) and lets at 24 liv. on an average (1l. 3s. 4d.), but this is farms through, one with another. Eſtates pay no more than 2½ per cent. At Scheleſtadt the average price of arable is 300 liv. (14l. 11s. 8d.), but there are ſome pieces that riſe to 1000 liv. (48l. 12s. 2½d.) Wheat yields five ſacks of 190 lb. (twenty-five buſhels); barley ſix; beans ſix to eight; and maiz five to ſix. Upon the whole, this plain of Alſace, though the ſoil is exceedingly fertile, and the cultivation very excellent, is not

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ſo productive, with a much better climate, as Flanders, and not comparable to the Garonne; it is, however, proper to obſerve, that I was not in the part of the province where hemp is a principal article of culture, for which it is famous; there I ſhould probably have found the lands more productive. On an average good land may be reckoned at 50l. per acre.

Plain of Limagne.

Amidſt the mountains of the province of Auvergne, which are moſtly volcanic, there is a ſmall but level plain, which ſome of the French naturaliſts think was once a lake, and ſome, who ſeem to have more probability in their ſuppoſition, that it is the gift of the river Allier that runs through it, having waſhed from the great region of mountains, from which itſelf and its kindred ſtreams flow, that rich mud or ſediment of which this plain, to a conſiderable depth, is formed. I was ſhewn ſome places where the river ſeemed, even to the eye, to be in the act of raiſing its bed by depoſitions of mud, which in the memory of man has formed ſolid ground. It is not wonderful that a plain of this nature and origin ſhould be of extraordinary fertility; it was repreſented to me as by far the moſt fertile diſtrict in all France, and it will remain a queſtion whether the idea be not a juſt one. I entered this beautiful plain at Riom, from whence to Montferrand arable ſells from 1000 to 1200 liv the ſepterée of eight hundred toiſes

ſes (64l. 3s. 4d.); ſome lands are known to have been ſold even for 4000 liv.; and to Clermont the average of arable lands 800 liv. (46l. 13s. 4d.), much riſing higher. Meadows near Clermont ſell to 1500 liv. the arpent of ſix hundred toiſes 116l. 13s. 4d.); the medium of meadows is 1200 liv. (98l. 6s. 8d.); the rent 50 liv. (3l. 17s. 9½d.) and that of arable 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 14s. 7½d.) The produce of wheat from ſeven to ten times the ſeed, which, for the land, is nothing at all; but I met afterwards with ſomething of an explanation, that the beſt lands are too rich for that grain, giving little beſide ſtraw; for which reaſon they ſow rye on the beſt ſoils, and wheat only on the worſt:—barley gives fifteen ſeeds. From Vertaiſon to Chauriet price 2400 liv. for eight hundred toiſes (140*l.* 12*s.*) At Izoire and its vicinity good arable 800 liv. the ſepterée of eight cartonats, each one hundred and fifty toiſes, 43,200 feet (31*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*); bad arable 400 liv. (15*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.*); watered gardens and hemp grounds 2000 liv. (79*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.*); watered meadows 1200 liv. (46*l.* 13*s.* 5½*d.*) but theſe, if alſo planted with apples and well incloſed, will yield 2000 to 3000 liv. (97l. 12s. 3d.) The ſeptier of wheat is eight cartonats, each of 32 lb.; of theſe they ſow ſix of wheat (173 lb.) and they gain forty-eight (23 buſhels); of rye they ſow ſix cartonats alſo, and they gain ſixty (29 buſhels); of barley they ſow eight and get ſixty-four of the ſame meaſures; of oats they ſow eight, and the crop is eighty, (which is about ſeventy-two of ſuch meaſures

meaſures per acre, or more than thirty-ſix buſhels); and in their tillage they keep eight working oxen to one hundred ſepterées of land. In this plain of Limagne, which, by the way, never repoſes in a fallow, we are to regard the price at which the land ſells. Cultivation is ſo ill underſtood here, and I ſaw ſuch execrable ploughing, that I am clear the products of common crops are not by half, certainly by one-third, equal to what they ought to be, except in caſes of meadow, hemp grounds, gardens, or orchards, in all which the management is excellent, and the produce adequate to the ſoil and culture. The price of the land riſes very high indeed; the beſt arable may be calculated on an average at about 60l. One circumſtance demands particular attention, relative to the Limagne, which is its ſituation being cut off from all immediate connection with the ſea, any inland navigation, or any great city *, or even any conſiderable manufacture, for the fabrics of Auvergne are of no account. It is a circumſtance from which political concluſions may be drawn, that agriculture is here able to ſupport itſelf without the aid of any of theſe aſſiſtants commonly ſuppoſed to be ſo eſſentially neceſſary to give a value to landed property.

* I have read of apples being ſent from Auvergne to Paris for ſale; it may be ſo, but the obſervation in the text is little affected by it; they muſt be particular ſorts to ſupply, at a high price, the demand of luxurious conſumption.

Upon theſe four principal diſtricts of the fertile plains of France, to dwell on general obſervations would be uſeleſs; I ſhall not, however, quit them without remarking the ſimilarity which may be found between them, diſtant and unconnected as they are with relation to each other.

In the chapter of the general produce of France, it appears, that the proportion of theſe plains to each other, is as follows:—Diſtrict of the N. E. 57.——The Garonne 24.——Alſace 2.——The Limagne is not equal to 1.—I mention them here, not to draw an average of the whole, becauſe I do not conceive the *data* to be ample enough for that: but to caution the reader againſt ſuppoſing, that a proportion of the plain of the Garonne, equal to twenty-four in this table, is of the value of 51l. 10s. per acre. My journey was ſo much on the richeſt part of that plain on the river, that the ſoil is, beyond queſtion, ſuperior to what it is on an average, of ſo large an extent as the number twenty-four here marks.—The ſame objection does not hold in relation to the north eaſtern diſtrict, which is more equal: *that* may very generally be averaged at about 30l. an acre: and the *better parts* of the plain of the Garonne, at 51l. 10s. The good land in Alſace at 50l. and in the Limagne at 60l. And when it is conſidered that theſe plains, including the Bas Poitou, amount to twenty-eight millions of acres; that is, to a larger extent, by about a fifth, than is to be found in the kingdoms either of Scotland, Ireland, or Portugal——a fact which

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muſt neceſſarily give us a very high idea of the natural fertility of this noble kingdom, as well as of the internal wealth that ſupports ſuch immenſe tracts of land, at ſo vaſt a price.

District of Heath.

It is abſolutely neceſſary, to explain one circumſtance to the reader, without which, he would form a very erroneous judgment from the following notes:—The title of *heath* is not unaptly given to the countries I now treat of. The quantity of actual waſte, producing heath or ling (*erica vulgaris*), is immenſe; and, independent of this the general aſpect of the country preſents a widely ſpreading gloomy view from vaſt tracts of cultivated lands having been exhauſted and abandoned to ſpontaneous growths. In ſuch countries, the real average rent, or value, or produce, is not to be attained. Converſe with any perſon on the topics of agriculture, and you will always find him referring to the land actually profitable at the preſent time, of which there are every where tracts that never are abandoned, and which bear a value that has nothing in common with the country in general. Sometimes, with difficulty, I got preciſe ideas of the price, &c. of the waſtes, but theſe notes I ſhall give under the head of waſte land, a very important article, and highly deſerving the attention of ſuch as wiſh to cultivate the moſt profitable fields of French agriculture. Normandy, notwithſtanding its general

fertility, has a large diſtrict contiguous to the weſtern coaſt, which, though much better than Bretagne, has more reſemblance to it than to the richer parts which we have deſcribed; I therefore unite them here. This diſtrict is entered before Vologne, in the road to Cherbourg. At Carentan, there are ſome rich paſtures, but none afterwards, and a deciſive change of ſoil.—rent 5 to 6 liv. (8s.); but good land to 15 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) Carentan to Pery, 5 to 10. liv. (10s. 11¼.) Coutances to Granville 12 liv. (17s. 6d.)

Bretagne.

From thence, in the way to Doll, enter this province. The price of good land 500 or 600 liv. (19l. 12s. 9½d.) the journal of two Norman verge, or 46,080 feet. Bad land, but cultivated, price 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d.); the good lets at 25 liv. (18s. 2¾.); product of wheat 20 boiſeau of 72lb. (20 buſhels.) From Hedé to Rennes. rent of middling land 10 liv. (7s. 4½d.); but ſome riſes to 20 and 30 liv. (18s. 2¾d.); ſells at twenty-five years purchaſe, and pays 5 per cent. At Rennes, and its vicinity, rents, near the town, 50 liv. (1l. 16s. 5d.) At a diſtance commonly about 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) but ſome to 30 liv. (1l. 2s. 1d.). Waſtes, *landes*, to be had for ever at 10*ſ.* Of wheat, they ſow five boiſeau of 40lb. (166lb.) Of buck-wheat, they ſow one one-half boiſeau, and gain thirty-two. At St. Brieux

ſpots

ſpots near the town, of very rich land, ſell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (91l. 10s. 5d.) and let at 80 to 100 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.) Wheat, on ſuch land produces up to 90 boiſeau, of 40lb. (50 buſhels). Price at a diſtance from the town 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d); and lets at 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) At Morlaix improved land lets at 20 to 30 liv. but the rough waſtes are thrown into the bargain. At Breſt I was informed, that the biſhoprics of St. Pol de Leon and Traguer do not, on an average of cultivated land, let at more than 12 to 15 liv. (9s. 7d.); but they have good land that riſes to 20 and 24 liv. (15s. 10d.) Three-fourths of all Bretagne waſte, and half of thoſe biſhopries, which are the richeſt parts of the province. At Roſporden they have meadows, in their waſte country, that let at 24 liv. (17s. 6d.) and that ſell at 600 or 700 liv. (24l. 13s. 11d.); but large tracks cultivated, that would not yield more than from 100 to 150 liv. (4l. 11s. 1d.) At Quimperl no rent per journal known; farms are taken in the lump, rough, waſte, and good land. In the neighbourhood of Moſilac the beſt improved meadows ſell at 1500 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.); almoſt incredible in a country where waſtes are to be had at 10ſ. capable of yielding ſainfoin and other graſſes. At Auvergnac wheat yields eight ſeptiers of 240lb. (26½ buſhels); but this is on good land, and a fine crop; average five ſeptiers. Meadow ſells at 1200 liv. (43l. 15s.); but arable not more than 400 liv. Eſtates pay 5 per cent.; and ſome more. Of thirty-nine parts of Bretagne, twenty-four are

val . Arrive at the great city of Nantes, near which rents are 60 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.); but at a diſtance 20 to 30 liv. (18s. 3d.) I cannot quit this immenſe province of Bretagne without remarking, that in moſt circumſtances it wears a ſingular aſpect. The products, which are not to be collected ſo much from theſe notes, as from a general idea formed from having viewed it, are contemptible; and the tolerable rent which appears in ſome of theſe minutes, with the immenſe value put upon ſcraps of very good land, as at Brieux, and every where for good meadow are all three equal proofs of the poor and miſerable ſtate in which agriculture is found throughout this province, St. Pol de Leon alone excepted, where are ſome exertions that mark a better ſpirit. But the circumſtance of half a province being waſte, and to be rented for ever at 10ſ. a journal, of near five roods Engliſh; which is every where maritime, abounding with ports and commerce, and having in it the royal ports of Breſt and l'Orient; the great city of Nantes, and the very commercial one of St. Maloes; containing in its boſom one of the greateſt linen manufactures in Europe; enjoying privileges and freedom from taxation beyond any other province; and yet, with all theſe palpable advantages, which ought to give the greateſt activity and vigour, according to received ideas, the whole forms a picture of miſery hardly to be equalled in the whole kingdom, in point of a contemptible culture. The *triſte* and wretched Sologne is, I think, ſuperior. It is

neceſſary

neceſſary that this fact ſhould be in the reader's contemplation, while he reflects on the produce, rent, and price of land in Bretagne; but the developement of the circumſtances, that cauſe ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle, will be treated of, when I attempt to explain the political principles that have governed agriculture in France.

Anjou.

There is not much diſtinction between this province and the preceding; the quantity of heath and waſtes is immenſe, but it has not, in the line I travelled, ſo *ſombre* and neglected an appearance. In the neighbourhood of Angers and Mignianne, the meaſures are the arpent of Anjou, which contains an hundred cords of twenty-five feet, or 62,500 feet. But the journal is more commonly uſed, which is eighty of theſe cords, or 50,000 feet. Of wheat, they ſow eight boiſeau of 28lb. (172lb. per acre); and get forty-eight (17 buſhels). At Duretal, rye land ſell at 100 liv. the boiſelée. From thence to Le Mans, there is ſuch a mixture of heaths and waſtes to ſo great an extent, that what I have to offer concerning it will come in more yroperly under the head of waſte lands.

Gaſcoign.

I ought not to begin the detail of this diſtrict without obſerving, that as a conſiderable part of it is within what may be called the roots of the Pyrenees,

Pyrenees, which conſiſt of rough tracts of mountain, interſected by rich and cultivated vallies, the prices minuted will have, as in many other caſes, a reference more to the latter than to the former; the generic term, land, will always be applied to thoſe fields in the contemplation of the perſon that ſpeaks; as for waſte mountains it is, when let, thrown into the bargain. Thus prices may run apparently high, and yet the country, taken in general, not a tenth part cultivated. At the famous valley of Campan and near Bagnere they meaſure by the journal of ſeven hundred cannes, each canne eight pann of eight inches. Land in culture ſells on the hills at 300 or 400 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.); in the country between Bagnere and 'Lourd the journal of arable ſells at 240 liv. (21l.) Maiz here is worth 40 liv. the journal (3l. 10s.). Such land lets at 15 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.); and the ſoils that yields and lets at thoſe ſums, ſells at 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) paying five per cent. At Leſcu the arpent ſells in the vale at 500 liv. From Pau, in Bearn, to Monen, an arpent that is ſown with four meaſures each of 36lb. ſells for from 300 to 400 liv.; this may be calculated, without apprehenſion, about an Engliſh acre (15l. 8s. 3d.) From Navareen to Sauveterre the ſame meaſure by ſeed continues; wheat produces forty meaſures, which, if my conjecture is right equals twenty-four buſhels per acre; in general, twenty-ſeven (ſixteen buſhels). Maiz, from half a meaſure of ſeed planted at two feet ſquare, yields ſixty meaſures; the price now, 1787, is

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54ſ. to 55ſ. but in common varies from 18ſ. to 30ſ. In the vale an arpent ſells at 500 liv. (21l. 17s. 6d.) but near towns to 800 liv. (35l.) From St. Palais to Anſpan there are vaſt fern waſtes, which the communities ſell; afterwards, when cultivated and ſold by the proprietors, the price is about 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) Paſſing Bayonne I met, at St. Vincent's in the Landes, ſome difficulties in aſcertaining what their arpent was. They ſow four meaſures of rye, each of 36lb. and a pair of good oxen plough two arpents a day, which in this light ſand, and with their double breaſt plough in ridging, agreed well enough with the ſeed rye. At laſt I was ſhewn a garden that contained juſt an arpent; on ſtepping I found it 3366 ſquare yards, whence it appears that their rye is ſown exceedingly thick. Pine land, which is here very bad, ſells at 60 liv. the arpent (3l. 16s. 1d.) It muſt not be imagined from hence that the pine land of the Landes of Bourdeaux ſells in this proportion in general. Vaſt tracks are greatly preferrable to theſe, and, if well planted, yield from 10s. to 20s. per arcre, and ſell at 10l. to 20l. an acre, but uſually 12l. or 13l. Cultivated land 120 liv. (7l. 12s. 2d.) Maiz yiels thirty meaſures per arpent, or forty-three meaſures per acre. The produce of rye the ſame, twenty-ſix buſhels; but this is a great crop. At Tartaſs incloſed and cultivated land ſells at 300 liv. (18l. 18s. 10d.) the beſt at 400 liv. but that is uncommon. At St. Severe 500 liv. (33l. 10s.) It is ever thus; when a country like this

this is in general waſte and the cultivated ſpots rich, they ſell them as they would do in diſtricts the whole of which are in culture. About Aire the arpent ſown with 240lb. of wheat, that is, with two ſacks, each four meaſures of 30lb. ſells at 1000 liv. If they ſow 150lb. per acre, this is 27l. 16s. 10d. To Plaiſance at 600 liv. From all which prices of this diſtrict of heath it appears, that the cultivated and improved lands, or thoſe naturally rich and good, have been here in contemplation. But certainly not one-tenth of this line of country is in that ſtate; for the general and predominant features of the whole are waſtes, of which in another chapter. —— Average,— Rent, 16s. 3d. Price, 19l. 18s. 4d.

It is to be noted in calculating theſe averages, that I reject the firſt articles of St. Brieux to Muſilac, and the ſecond of Campan; they are too much exceeding the common rates to be admitted, depending on merely local or extraordinary circumſtances; 20l. an acre may, on a general idea, be conſidered as the price of the land in theſe diſtricts that is improved and in regular culture; and when it is recollected that the enormous waſtes are, generally ſpeaking, of as good a ſoil naturally, and by very eaſy and practicable means capable of being made equally productive, and that they are to be hired for ever at 5d. an acre, the ignorance of the people in breaking up and improving uncultivated lands will appear amazing; it is indeed, of all the other branches of agriculture, that which is leaſt underſtood in

France.

France. The few notes taken of the year's purchaſe, at which land ſells, give twenty-five. The intereſt for money paid by land, 5 per cent.; and the ratio of the crop of wheat and rye to the ſeed, ſix for one; and laſtly, taking the average of Doll, St. Brieux, Roſporden, and Lourd, being thoſe places where rent and price are both minuted, it is 1l. 7s. rent, and 34l. 11s. 2d. price; the groſs receipt of the landlord therefore does not amount to 5 per cent.

District of Mountain.

The ſame obſervation is applicable in the preſent caſe; for though the provinces of Rouſſillon, Languedoc, Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence are the moſt mountainous in France, yet the great roads lead moſtly along vales; and when they do not, but croſs the higheſt ridges of thoſe mountains, which is the caſe in the Velay and Vivarais, and ſomewhat ſo in Provence, yet when the price of land is demanded, the anſwer from every tongue always refers to appropriated and cultivated ſpots, which probably ſell higher than ſimilar ones would do in the beſt countries. Another circumſtance, in countries where irrigation is well underſtood, is, that the waters of great tracks of mountains being directed over ſmall ones of vallies, to their prodigious improvement, muſt of neceſſity add a value to them, which would groſsly deceive us, if the ſligheſt general idea was formed from it.

Rouſſillon.

Bellegarde to Perpignan, a meaſure of watered arable ſells for 1200 liv. and lets for 50 liv. Their meaſure is to the arpent de Paris as fifteen to eleven, this therefore is 880 liv. for that arpent (50l. 1s. 10d.), and the rent 1l. 11s. 6d. At Pia watered arable ſells at 1000 liv. (32l. 1s. 3d.); good arable not watered at 600 liv. (19l. 4s. 8d.); the vale not watered 30 liv. rent (18s. 10d.)

Languedoc.

At Cauſſan the ſeſterée of arable land is ſown with 96lb. of ſeed. Mr. Paucton makes the ſeſterée to the arpent de France, as 0,3979 is to 1,000, or 19,158 feet; this is 192lb. per acre. At Beziers I ſaw a farm of 250 ſeſterées, that was ſold for 70,000 liv. or 250 liv. per ſeſterée (21l. 17s. 6d.) At Carcaſſonne the ſeptier of wheat is 150lb. and they got on good land ſix per ſeſterée, the ſeſterée here being 1024 cannes of eight pans, this makes 25,000 feet; the produce thereof is 23 buſhels. Extraordinary crops riſe to ten ſeptiers. This province bears a much greater character for fertility than it deſerves. Monſ. Aſtruc ſays of it, "Je ne pretens point parler ni du bled ni de la laine: ces deux articles ſont portés dans la Languedoc à peu près au plus haut point où ils puiſſent aller *" A pretty reaſon for

* *Mem. pour l'Hiſt. Nat. de la Prov. de Languedoc.* 4to. 1737. Pref.

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the natural hiſtorian of a province to ſay no more about them! At Narbonne there is good wool, but the culture of corn there has little merit. Another writer is near the truth when he ſays, "If we except what we call the plain of Languedoc, the lower grounds, and the low Cevenois, the reſt, which makes half the province, is, of all the countries I know, the moſt ungrateful and the leaſt fertile †."

Auvergne.

At Briude and its vicinity, the ſepterée of mountain land contains 1800 toiſes, and ſells at 50 to 80 liv.; there are 64,800 feet in it, or two arpents of Paris (1l. 13s. 3d.); of middling land cultivated, the ſeptier contains 1600 toiſes, and the price is 1000 liv. (29l. 3s. 7d.); the beſt land meaſures 1400 toiſes, and ſells at 2000 liv. (66l. 14s. 4d.) What a perplexity to have a different meaſure, according to the quality of the ſoil! At a diſtance from the town, good land ſells for 500 liv (16l. 13s. 7d.); and middling 200 liv. (5l. 16s. 8d.) At Fix the ſepterée contains 1800 toiſes, and the price of good land is 800 liv. but one with another, not more than 400 liv. (12l. 7s. 9d.) Rent 10 liv. and produce 30 liv. conſequently pays only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; but it is to be recollected, that few will hire land on ſuch elevated ſpots; it is generally in the hands of the proprietors. From hence reach Pradelles,

† *Hiſt. Nat. de la Prov. de Languedoc.* Par M. Genſane. 8vo. 4 tom. 1777. Tom. iv. p. 193.

where the meaſure changes again; four cartonats make a journal, and ſell at 300 liv. but bad land down to 30 liv.; ſome near towns riſes to 1000 liv. A man mows, and a pair of oxen ploughs a journal a day. At Villeneuve de Berg wheat yields four for one of the ſeed, in good years. The meaſure ſells for 400liv.

Dauphiné.

At Montilimart, the meaſure is the ſepterée, which they ſow with a ſeptier of wheat of 103lb. ſuppoſing them to ſow, as uſual in the ſouth of France, their crop, which is eight for one, amounts to (23½ buſhels.) Good arable in the vale, that admits watering, ſells at 400 liv. (27l. 19s. 1d.) Not watered 200 liv. (13l 19s. 6d.); the worſt 150 liv. (10l. 9s. 7d.) Rent of good land in the vale, when let 24 liv. (1l. 13s. 3d.); of the middling 18 liv. and of the bad 10 liv.—Eſtates pay 4 per cent.

Provence.

At Avignon, we meet with the ſame difficulty in diſcovering the meaſure of land accurately as at Montilimart. I muſt therefore take the ſeed for my guide here alſo. The ſalma of wheat weighs 400lb. but the pound is not the poid de marc; it is to that weight as 0,8375 is to 1,0000, or 477lb. Their meaſure of land is the ſalma alſo; but it is not to be aſcertained by the ſuppo-

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ſition of ſeed. Arable land, near the city, ſells at 1200 to 3000 liv. Wheat yields eight, ten, and twelve for one of the ſeed. Meadows are meaſured by the *eymena*, which ſpace yields a ton of hay. At Lille arable ſells at 400 liv. the *eymena*, if planted with mulberries; if without them 200 liv. and down to 120 liv. Paſs from hence, by the Crau to Aix, where they meaſure by the carterée of 600 cannes,—the canne eight pans; the pan nine inches and three lines, or 21,600 feet. Arable 600 liv. the carterée (47l. 5s.) Land pays 4 per cent. At Tour d'Aigues, their meaſure is the ſomma of 14000 cannes, or 50,400 feet. Arable ſells at 200 to 500 liv. average 400 liv. (13l. 6s. 10d.) Of wheat, they ſow eight pannaux of 32lb. 256lb. on good land; but the pound here is the poid de table; theſe make, therefore, only 220lb. poid de marc. (167lb.) On bad land, however, they ſow but one-fourth of this quantity, which is a moſt extraordinary circumſtance. A good product is eight for one; a bad one four for one; and the medium of the diſtrict five (14 buſhels), which is a ſad proof of miſerable huſbandry. If, however, the wheat is put in with their hough inſtead of the plough, in which way the ground is ſtirred deeper and better, they get ſeven or eight for one (20 buſhels). The beſt purchaſes do not pay more than 4 per cent. At Marſeilles, the celebrated Abbé Raynal aſſured me, that he had been informed by many agriculturiſts, who well know France, that the whole kingdom does not produce more than 4½ for one of the ſeed, on an average. And

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on my return from Italy, paſſing near Lyons, I was informed, that that province does not yield more than four for one; and alſo, that the common price of arable land is half that of meadow. And as at this place I am in the neighbourhood of the ſub-province of Breſſe, which is a part of the generality of Dijon, I ſhall add here, from the information of the very ingenious Monſ. Varenne de Feuille, that throughout that province, the meaſure of land is the coupée of 6250 feet, which is ſown with a coupée of wheat of 22lb. the average value of which, for many years, is 2 liv. but on an average of the laſt ten years, at 45ſ.—the common product is five for one (12½ buſhels); but maiz yields at leaſt twelve for one. Before I take leave of this diſtrict of mountain, I ſhould obſerve, that by far the greater part of all theſe provinces bears no rent at all, and yields no other produce than what reſults from paſturing cattle in the mountains during the ſummer ſeaſon, the amount of which is very trifling*. Perhaps ſeven-eighths of Languedoc are mountainous; half of Provence or more; three-fourths of Auvergne; and two-thirds of Dauphiné. Theſe immenſe diſtricts of mountain, abound, it is true, with lovely valleys, but their breadth is uſually inconſiderable; nor do the cultivated ſlopes bear any proportion to the parts abſolutely waſte.

* The beſt mountains in this reſpect, that I heard of, are thoſe that begin at Colmars, and at Barcelonette, which are covered with a good turf, and in ſummer feed an immenſe number of cattle and ſheep.

Theſe

Theſe vaſt tracks unincloſed, unappropriated, and generally common to the reſpective communities, have no other fixed price than what they ſometimes are ſold for to individuals, which is noted under the head of waſte lands. The value is too ſmall to be an object in this inquiry. The ſeigneurs, who poſſeſs the ſame rights, ſell and fief them at a ſtill cheaper rate. The vicinity of ſuch great tracks of mountains is a cauſe for vale lands ſelling at a much higher price than they otherwiſe would. In France, hay and ſtraw are almoſt the only articles of the winter food of cattle and ſheep. This miſerable œconomy gives a value to meadow-ground, which in a better ſyſtem would probably ſink full half: and for the ſame reaſon arable lands are greatly raiſed in their price. The more cattle the poſſeſſors can keep on the mountains in ſummer, ſo much the more valuable are all cultivated lands.——Average,—Rent, 17s. 7d. Price, 21l. 7s. 7d.

The average thus ſtated is that of land improved and cultivated, and chiefly vales, in this mountainous diſtrict. I may add alſo, that the rate per cent. paid by purchaſes varies from two one-half to four, which are the extremes; the mean may be ſtated at three one-half, perhaps three three-fourths. The product of wheat and rye, proportioned to the ſeed, riſes from four for one, to ten for one, but the latter is in watered vales; ſuch advantages excepted, about four or five for one. Laſtly, let me obſerve, that on ſelecting Rouſſillon, Languedoc, and Dauphiné,

articles

articles which have both rent and price minuted, I find the average of them to be, rent 1l. 3d. pric 22l. 4d.

District of Stoney Soils.

Loraine.

At St. Menehoud, good arable ſells for 250 to 300 liv. the journal of 21,384 feet (21l. 11s. 4d.); but ſome is ſo low as 10 liv. (15s.) To Braban the ſame price: but near that place, whole farms through, the land of all ſorts included, 80 liv. (6l. 6s.) At Verdun good arable 300 to 500 liv. (31l. 10s.); but upon the hills ſome ſo low as 10 to 20 liv. (1l. 2s. 9d.) At Mar-le-Tours arable 400 liv. (31l. 10s.); and in the way to Metz, where the meaſure changes to 22,575 feet, by one account, and to 480 perch, at eight feet two inches, by another; the latter is 31,680 feet, and they meaſure wheat by the franchar of 42lb. The uncertainty of the meaſure makes a good deal of intelligence which I received uſeleſs. At Metz, where the meaſure is 22,575 feet, on the beſt land wheat yields $5\frac{1}{2}$ for one, viz. one quartier of ſeed, at 5 liv. 15*ſ.* yields $5\frac{1}{2}$ quartiers, or 31 liv. 12*ſ.*; ſome ſo low as $3\frac{1}{2}$ for one. Arable ſells at 150 liv. (11l. 4s.) Eſtates produce neat $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. and ſell for 24 years purchaſe. At Pont à Mouſſon another meaſure 300 verge of 10 feet, the foot 10 inches, or 16,200 feet. I ſhall enter the intelligence as I received it, but

ſome

ſome of the rates appear extraordinary; I am not, however, allowed to doubt, as my authority was the beſt the country could afford. Bad arable land in the plain ſells at 300 liv. this is (reducing both meaſure and money, for here 31 liv. make but 24 liv. in France) 24l. 13s.; of a middling quality it ſells at 500 liv. (40l. 12s. 1d.); ſome at 1000 liv. (79l. 12s. 2d.) The beſt wheat produces ſeven quartiers, at 130 lb. but this is uncommon; the general produce is four ſuch quartiers (23 buſhels). One perſon here informed me, that the beſt produce is 10 quartiers, the middling ſeven, and the worſt three; but as this would make the average 40 buſhels, I reject the intelligence, and adhere to what I have noted above. I have been recommended to at leaſt a dozen perſons in France connected nearly with agriculture, who did not know and could not diſcover the meaſure of the place where they lived, if, unfortunately, the arpenteur was abſent, or non-reſident in the town. Rents in the plain from 30 to 50 liv. (3l. 3s. 10d.). Eſtates pay 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At Nancy, the arpent contains 19,360 feet, or 250 toiſes of 10 perch. Arable land ſells at 500 liv. (33l. 17s. 6d.); ſome at 700 liv.; the worſt at 250 liv. (16l. 8s. 9d.) Eſtates ſubject to feudal honorific rights pay 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; others not ſubject five. At Luneville finding alſo ſome difficulty in aſcertaining the meaſure of land, I ſtepped a piece that was exactly a journal, and found it to contain 1974 yards, or 15,620 French feet. Arable land near good villages ſells at 300 liv. (24l. 17s.

17s. 10d.) but more commonly at 124 liv. (10l. 7s. 3d.) A good produce of wheat is three razeau of 180 lb. this, the pound being to the poid de marc as 0,9369 is to 1,0000, equals 23 buſhels; a middling two razeau (15½ buſhels); the worſt 1½ (11½ buſhels). To Haming arable ſells at 100 to 200 liv. the journal (12l. 8s. 11d.) and lets at 10 liv. (8s. 9d.)

Alſace.

To Befort the beſt land 600 liv. but in general arable 250 liv. the journal of 800 toiſes (14l. 11s. 4d.) They ſow this meaſure with four quartiers of wheat, each 42 lb. (224 lb.) produce thirteen to ſixteen quartiers (14½ are 12 buſhels.) The common price of the ſack is 16 liv. or for 4, 64 liv. Barley half the value, 32 liv.—total produce, in three years, as the courſe is,—1, fallow,——2, wheat, 3, ſpring corn, 96 liv.——Rent of ſuch land 11 liv. (12s. 3d.) At Iſle, the journal contains four quartiers, each ninety perch, at nine feet, or 29,160 feet. Land, in general, ſells from 240 to 400 liv. (18l. 5s. 9d.) The produce of wheat, twelve to twenty quartiers, at 40 lb. (15½ buſhels.)

Franche Comté.

The journal of Beſançon is 360 perch, at 9½ feet, or 33,507 feet. Very bad arable land is to be had for 50 liv. (2l. 11s. 10d.); but ſome riſes

to

to 1500 liv. (77l. 15s.) and theſe prices are the extremes; in common, 500 liv. (25l. 18s. 4d.) The produce of wheat is two to five meaſures of 40 lb. (from 36 to 50 lb.) on an *œuvre*, the eighth of a journal,——at three, this is 20 buſhels. Eſtates pay ſcarcely 4 per cent.; and in the mountains, on the frontiers of Switzerland, only 2½. To Orechamps, in the flat rich vale, a journal ſells at 700 liv. (36l. 5s. 8d.) All I ſaw of Franche Comté, is under a wretched culture; fallows very general, yet the corn poor; and where there are exceptions, which do not often occur, ſtill the management is without merit. The culture of maiz is a good feature, but it is neither flouriſhing nor clean, and much mixed with hemp.

Burgundy.

About Longeau, the meaſure is the journal of 360 perch, of nine feet, or 28,800 feet. The common price of land 600 liv. (34l. 19s. 2d.) The meaſure of wheat holds 32 lb. and a journal yields to 50 (41 buſhels); but this is an extraordinary crop,——thirty are more common (24 buſhels); maiz yields forty meaſures (32 buſhels), beſides ten to twenty-five meaſure of harricots: barley thirty-five meaſure. In the neighbourhood of Dijon, where the journal is the ſame as the arpent de Paris, arable ſells for 200 liv. (10l. 7s. 9d.) to 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 3d.) And the half produce of wheat, which the landlord receives from the

metayer, five meaſures of 45 lb. (5 buſhels). The land yields, however, much more than 10 buſhels, for there are deductions for certain expences of culture before he takes his half, as tythe, harveſt and treſhing. At Nuys the journal of arable ſells at 300 to 400 liv. (18l. 3s. 6d.) It has been impoſſible to avoid, in this diſtrict, general errors flowing from the intelligence received, being much more in reference to good land, and ſuch as has been long cultivated and improved, than an average of the whole. In the chapter of univerſal produce, which includes every ſpecies of land, this diſtrict does not claſs high; it is, on the contrary, among the worſt cultivated in the kingdom, after the diſtrict of heath, Sologne, the Bourbonnois, and Nivernois, I know none worſe: much is waſte, and more under culture is neglected, yet land in the rich flat vales, through which the rivers lead, is fertile enough to command great prices, and to yield large products, even with bad management. Immenſe tracks in Loraine are plagued with common rights, which are more general than in moſt of the other provinces. Where theſe are found, huſbandry cannot flouriſh. The good duke of Loraine, the wiſeſt and moſt benevolent ſovereign of his age, ſeems to have done nothing in this reſpect, and without it the province will continue what it is, one of the pooreſt in France. It is a bad ſign, when you find the pay of troops reckoned a great bleſſing. If you believe the people of theſe provinces, Loraine, without her garriſons, and Franche Comté without

without her forges, would both be deſolute; a ſure mark, that agriculture is ill underſtood, and overſtocked with uſeleſs hands, or rather mouths.——Average,——Price, 21l. 10s. 2d.—Product, 18 buſhels.

In calculating this Average, I reject merely local advantages of the vicinity of Beſançon. I ſhould add here, as before, that land, in this diſtrict, ſells at twenty-four years purchaſe, and yields from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent.;—average $3\frac{3}{4}$. The average of the minutes, where both rent and price are noted, —rent, 1l. 8s. 3d.; price 35l. 10s. 9d.

District of Chalk.

Sologne.

Sologne has not a chalk ſoil; but I ſaw in ſeveral places a very good clay marl, and as the province is nearly ſurrounded by a calcareous one, I think I am juſtified in my arrangement of it, notwithſtanding Monſ. d'Autroche ſays it has no calcareous ſtones *. In paſſing from Orleans to La Ferté Lowendahl, this moſt wretched of the French provinces is entered. Poverty and miſery prevade the whole; agriculture is at it loweſt ebb, and yet every where it is capable of being made rich and flouriſhing. Between theſe towns are twelve miles of a poor flat ſandy gravel; for the

* Page 24.

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firſt mile from Orleans improved; but all the reſt in a miſerable ſtate; many neglected lands covered with heath. It yields nothing but rye, the crops are wretched, that being ſown is a ſatire upon the kingdom. Rent of an arpent of France, 4 liv. (3s.); but waſte for ſheep-walk given into the bargain, which is of a much greater extent. Near La Ferté $4\frac{1}{2}$ liv. all here gained through the medium of *metayers*. To La Motte Beuvron 400 liv. for 150 mines of land, three mines making two arpents; this is not quite 4 liv. but much rough ground for cattle and ſheep thrown in.—Miſerable rye and buck-wheat, the only crops: the farmers think the former promiſing this year, which I am clear will not produce two quartiers the acre. To Nonan-le-Fuzelier, the ſame country and huſbandry, and the rye this year no more than one-half to one quarter per acre. To La Loge, nearly the ſame, and not one-tenth of it cultivated. They ſow here a vernal rye, which is a true ſpring corn, that will not ſucceed if ſown in autumn. It is committed to the ground in March or April, yet the crop is out only one week later than the common rye; the produce not quite ſo large. Buck-wheat yields 8 to 12 ſeptiers per ſeptereé——the ſeptier holds 120 lb. rye; this is ten buſhels upon the land that is ſown with two. Rye yields three to one of the ſeed. At Salbris, newly broken up land yields 12 boiſeau of rye, of 13 lb. per meaſure of land, of which there are 12 in a ſepterée, or 12 ſeptiers of 156 lb.; and advancing, rye produces three ſeptiers the ſepterée

ſepterée; it is nearly an acre——the crop is therefore about one quarter per acre. Upon Sologne, in general, I ſhould obſerve, that a gentleman of the province has calculated it to contain 250 leagues ſquare, or a million of arpents *;——and that the net rent of it, without the landlord furniſhing the cattle, is only 20*ſ.* to 25*ſ.* per arpent one with another. Another writer ſays, the worſt lands in the province, ſell at 110 liv. per arpent † de Paris (5l. 14s. 3d.); he means cultivated I preſume, for certainly the waſtes bring no ſuch price.) I can believe this from the view I took of it; and ſurely nothing can be a more ſevere ſatire on the agriculture of a country!——Government and the gentry are equally to blame. I have ſeldom ſeen a country ſo eaſily capable of improvement, for the ſoil is ſand or gravel, and under it is every where found clay, or clay marl.

Saintonge.

In returning northwards, re-enter the chalk diſtrict, in this province. At La Grawle the meaſure is thirty-two carreaux, each eighteen feet ſquare, or 10,368 feet; ſells at 10 liv. (11. 12s. 4d.) being very bad, but better ſoils at 30 liv. (4l. 17s.) At Rignac the ſoil being ſtrong and good, the

* Memoire ſur l'amelioration de la Sologne, par M. d'Autroche. 8vo. 1787. p. 4.

† *Credit National*, p. 114.

Paris

Paris arpent, which is the common Saintonge meaſure, ſells for 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 10d.) Wheat produces ten ſacks of 150 lb. (32 buſhels) but this is an extraordinary crop, ſeven and a half much more common (24 buſhels). At Barbeſieux they ſow wheat two years in ſucceſſion; the firſt crop twelve to fifteen boiſeau per journal; the ſecond eight or nine: a ſufficient proof of their barbariſm.

Angoumois.

The journal is to that of France, as 0,674 is to 1,000, which is ſomething more than the arpent de Paris. At Petignac good land ſells at 400 liv. (20l. 16s. 9d.) but bad, by which they mean chalk ſoils, yields little or nothing, if others are bought with them. At Roulet the arpent is one and a half journal of 200 carreaux, each twelve feet, or 28,800 feet. Maiz here produces thirty to forty boiſeau, which contains 45 lb. of wheat (38 buſhels). Wheat twenty-five boiſeau the firſt crop (26 buſhels), but the ſecond not above ſixteen (17 buſhels); and all theſe crops are on the beſt lands only; inferior ones produce much leſs. At Angoulême wheat yields twelve boiſeaus the journal, the boiſeau 78 to 92 lb. Strong land ſells at 200 liv. (11l. 12s. 9d.); At Verteuil the journal is 200 carreaux, each 12 feet ſquare, which is the ſame as at Boulet; land ſells at 300 liv. (17l. 10s.) being from 20 to 25 years purchaſe; rent 12 liv. (14s.) They ſow more than a boiſeau of wheat,

of

of 80 lb. per journal (90 is 120 lb. per Engliſh acre); produce five (10 buſhels). At Caudac wheat three ſacks per journal, the ſack two boiſeau, the boiſeau 70 to 80 lb. (11 buſhels); maiz $4\frac{1}{2}$ ſacks ($16\frac{1}{2}$ buſhels.) Upon Angoumois in general I may obſerve, that the only poſſible method of cultivating land well in ſuch a province, would be by ſainfoin and turnips being well underſtood; of the latter they have not an idea; and the former, though not abſolutely unknown, is yet ſo very weakly and ſparingly cultivated, that there is not one acre where there ought to be a thouſand. When chalks are farmed upon the common routine of management that pervades all France, no wonder we hear of ſuch miſerable crops. The province does not, on an average, produce one-fourth of what ſimilar land in England yields.

Poitou.

At Ruffec they take their crops of wheat in ſucceſſion; produce of the firſt, 12 to 16 boiſeau of 80 lb.; of the ſecond, ſix to nine; and of the third, three. At Coute Verac 12 boiſeau per journal, on land that ſells at 100 liv. For many miles to Poitiers, the country all appears as badly cultivated as it is *ſombre* to the eye, being one of the moſt dreary I have ſeen in France. The products run very low, if I may judge by the ſtate of the ſtubbles, and from the ſcattered hints, rather than information, I received; it does not

yield the half of what a little better huſbandry would enable it to do. At Clain the meaſure is the boiſerée of 16 chains ſquare, each chain 10 feet, or 25,600 feet, which ſpace yields 12 to 18 boiſeau of 32 lb. of rye (13 buſhels). The ſame meaſure of land ſells at La Tricherie at 60 to 90 liv. (4l. 18s.); at Chateaurault for 60 liv. (3l. 18s. 9d.). Rye produces 10 boiſeau (8 buſhels). Advancing, the ſoil improves a little; it ſell at 100 liv. (6l. 11s. 2d.) and produces 12 to 14 boiſeau of rye.

Touraine.

At Beauvais loamy land ſells at 100 liv. the arpent, but chalky ſoils at only half that ſum. Wheat after ſainfoin yields 80 boiſeau, but after fallow only 20. I am ſo much in doubt what the arpent is, and what the boiſeau, that I give no reduction; they told us the former was 100 chain of 12 feet. At Montbazon the arpent of 100 chain, each 25 feet ſquare, or 62,500 feet, ſells at 3 to 8 liv. the chain, or 300 to 800 liv. the arpent (14l. 16s. 7d.) Wheat yields 50 gerbs, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ boiſeau (16 buſhels): barley now cutting, and not two quarters per Engliſh acre. At Tours large purchaſes pay 5 per cent. but ſmall ones $3\frac{1}{2}$. Amboiſe, an arpent of land 200 liv. To Blois the beſt land 300 liv. (15l. 12s. 4d.) There are 12 boiſerée in the arpent, ſown with a boiſeau of ſeed of 10 lb. (157 lb.)

Sologne.

Sologne.

Re-enter this province, where it has no ſuch miſerable countenance as in the part we paſſed before. To Chambord the arpent is 1600 toiſes, the rent of which is 24 liv. (14s.) but this is the beſt land only; the general produce being, vines excepted, very low. To Orleans paſs ſome buck-wheat, that will not yield more than five or ſix buſhels an acre; rent of ſands 8 liv. (4s. 2d)

Champagne.

To Chateau Thiery the vale arable lets at 12 liv. the arpent (8s. 2d.); but the hills are poor and yield much leſs. All the products I ſee are miſerably poor, yet the ſoil is a good loam. Near Mareuil farms are let at the third franc, paying the landlord by that diviſion 20 to 24 liv. the arpent (16s.) Land ſells at thirty years purchaſe, and pays 5 per cent. At Epernay eſtates in general pay 3 per cent. The chalky marl of the vale, for four miles before Rheims, has not much wheat, but a great deal of rye, which is by far the cleaneſt corn I have ſeen this year in France, unleſs the poor have weeded the ſtubble for their cows. Price 200 to 250 liv. the arpent of France (7l. 16s. 7d.) In the country between La Loge and Chalons there is much that has been ſold at 30 liv. the arpent (1l. 1s.) and ſome even at 6 liv. (4s. 2d.); and many tracks let 20*ſ.* (8d.);

and much is left waſte to weeds, not being deemed worth ſowing, that would yield ſainfoin worth three guineas an acre. To Ove, the miſerably poor chalky ſoils ſell at 48 liv. the journal (1l. 13s. 3d. and ſome at 27 liv. (18s. 4d.); nor can any thing be more wretched than the products. With regard to the whole province I ſhould note here, that the provincial aſſembly, in their return of the whole, ſtated, that Champagne contained four millions of arpents, the rental of which was 20,000,000 liv. and the groſs product 60,000,000 liv.; this makes the produce 15 liv. (10s.)—and the rent 5 liv. (3s. 6d.); which valuations clearly ſhew, that great waſtes are ſuppoſed to yield little or nothing; for the product of vines, and the lands on the rivers, is conſiderable. Land ſells in Champagne as it ſells elſewhere, according to the intereſt expected to be made by it; the price, therefore, follows the culture; the rent, where *metayers* are the tenants, depends abſolutely upon the produce; while agriculture, therefore (vineyards excepted), is at ſuch a low and miſerable pitch, the landlord can reaſonably expect nothing more than the pittance he receives at preſent. But the improvements to be made in this country are immenſe, by means of artificial graſſes, turnips, and ſheep. But the ſtupid ignorance of the landlords, and the pernicious prejudices they inherit for the army, in common with other Frenchmen, remove all pity of their condition; they receive the full meaſure of their merit; but the poverty of the peaſantry truly deſerves compaſſion.

Upon

Upon the whole, the poor chalk provinces muſt be conſidered as the worſt cultivated in France; and no wonder; the proper management of this ſoil depends abſolutely on three things, turnips, graſſes, and ſheep, neither of which is known here any more than among the Hurons. The circumſtance is deciſive.

Average,—Rent, 6s. 9d. Price, 9l. 1s. 5d. Product, 13½ buſhels.

Land in theſe diſtricts ſells, at an average, at 25 years purchaſe; yields 4 per cent. intereſt on the capital inveſted; and the produce of wheat and rye is four for one of the ſeed. There are but two minutes that contain, in the ſame article, both rent and price. The average is 10s. 4d. rent, and 12l. 13s. 3d. price: it pays, therefore, about 4 per cent. by this account; and it ſhould be obſerved, that the rent is not a net produce——for the landlord has his vingtiémes to pay out of it.

District of Gravel.

Burgundy.

At Autun is the ſeparation between the various ſtony ſoils of the reſt of this province, the lands of which are high, and the plain gravelly through which the Loire runs. The meaſure is the boiſelée, the ſpace which a boiſeau of rye ſows, that contains 40 lb.; at 160 lb. per Engliſh acre, the boiſelée would be about 9600 French feet. As to

rent

rent, nothing can be diſcovered accurately, without details, which few landlords would know how to give; for graſs, waſte, and wood are thrown into the bargain to the farmer, and he divides rye and cattle with the landlord; as to price, the only information I could get from a perſon who I ſhould have thought qualified to anſwer many queries was, that an eſtate which yields 500 boiſeau of rye with graſs, waſte, and wood proportioned to the practice of the country in general, would ſell for 30,000 liv. At Luzy rye, in a good year, yields five or ſix for one of the ſeed. The whole country from Autun to Bourbon Lancy is a granite, or gravel ſoil, and no produce to be ſeen but very miſerable rye.

Bourbonnois.

At Chavanne they ſow a boiſeau of rye of 20lb. on a boiſelée of land, the produce in a good year five or ſix for one. An eſtate to be ſold here, conſiſting of three farms, which yield, by *metaying*, 3000 liv. a year, and the price aſked 80,000 liv. but to be had for 60,000 liv. conſequently pays 5 per cent. At Moulins the arpent contains eight boiſelées, each of 168 toiſes ſquare, or 48,384 feet, and in the boiſelée 6048 feet. Good arable ſells at 150 to 200 liv. the arpent (5l. 19s. 10d.), but there is much ſo bad as to be had for 12 liv. the arpent (7s. 10d.) All purchaſes pay 5 per cent. They ſow 160lb. of rye per arpent (140lb.), and get four or five times the ſeed. In the

the neighbourhood an eſtate of 10,000 liv. a year to be ſold, the price aſked 300,000 liv. but timber, &c. &c. given in reduce it to 250,000 liv.; it would pay 4 per cent. neat for the money, by the miſerable produce of $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 liv. (2s. 6d.) per arpent for the landlord's half, to gain which he is obliged, like all his neighbours, to provide the whole live ſtock of the farms; take the price at 250,000 liv. (10,937l.) and the annual rent at 10,000 liv. (437l.) at 2s. 6d. per Engliſh acre, and there will be 3496 acres, at the price of 3l. 2s. 6d. per acre. This eſtate yields annually 5381 boiſeau of rye, at 20lb. (at 55lb. Engliſh the buſhel, this is 2150 buſhels, and at 3s. the buſhel is (322l. 10s.); the produce is five for one of the ſeed. At La Paliſe rye produces four for one. The gravely plan icontinues to Neufmoutier.

Nivernois.

All I ſaw of this province reſembles the Bourbonnois in ſoil, culture, and produce; rye here, as there, is almoſt the only crop; but there are more variations, for oats are ſometimes taken after the rye, and there are diſtricts that produce ſome wheat. The gravelly plain of the Loire, which includes theſe two provinces, commences to the S. at Roanne, in the Lyonnois. I ſhall in general obſerve upon this gravelly diſtrict, that it is one of the moſt improveable I have any where ſeen; much might be done in it, by a huſbandry well adapted to ſheep, for which ſpecies of ſtock both

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the provinces are admirably calculated; and I ſhould add, that it is hardly poſſible to conceive any thing more deſpicable than the breed of that animal which is found here; rye-ſtraw, the winter proviſion, inſtead of turnips, is ſufficient to explain it. Nothing can hardly be poorer than the *metayers* of the Bourbonnois; and the landlords feel the effects of their poverty in a manner that one would think ſufficient to open their eyes to their real ſituation. They receive about 2s. 6d. an acre, on an average, not for the rent of the land only, but alſo for running the hazard of all the live ſtock, which they provide for the eſtate; thus they have the principal part of the ſtock and hazard of farming, without any of the profit of it; for the ignorance of the *metayers* is ſuch, that it is in vain to expect any improvement from them. If in ſuch a ſituation gentlemen will not take their lands into their own hands, at leaſt enough to prove that the country might yield far other crops, they muſt be as torpid as their *metayers*, and receive from their poverty the juſt reward of prejudice and indolence.——Average,—Price, 3l. 3s. 4d.

I ſhould ſuppoſe the rental, on an average of the whole diſtrict, might, from the *metayers*, be about (2s. 6d.) an acre, from which, however, ſhould be deducted the intereſt of the ſums inveſted in ſtocking the farm with cattle, ſheep, horſes, and hogs, which is a conſiderable deduction. On the other hand, timber, underwood, ſome meadows, always kept in hand—vines, ponds, of which there

there are many; the rent of mills, &c. more than balance that deduction, and may probably raiſe the total receipt to (3s.) an acre, or ſomething more. Eſtates, in thoſe provinces, pay about 4½ per cent.; and the produce of rye may be calculated at five for one.

District of Various Loams.

Berry.

In paſſing from the *triſle* Sologne into this province, the ſoil improves, and with it the products, but continue, however, very moderate, and far inferior to what they ought to be. A few leagues before Verſon, where the count d'Artois's foreſt ends, rye and buck-wheat yield 5½ to ſix ſeptiers on the ſeſterée of land, but barley leſs; this is five or ſix for one. A farmer occupies 50 ſeſterées of land for 150 liv. rent. The boiſeau of rye is 15lb. and twelve make a ſeptier of 180lb. which quantity of ſeed makes the ſeſterée to be more than an acre; five roods at leaſt. Wheat and barley yield five or ſix ſeptiers. Advancing towards Vatan, the ſoil improves much; the product of wheat 3½ ſeptiers of 204lb. the boiſeau being 17lb.; and they ſow a ſeptier of all ſorts of corn per ſeſterée, on all ſorts of land. On good land, the *metayers* pay half the produce; but on middling, the rent is a ſeptier per ſeſterée. This makes the rent equal only to the ſeed, and the landlord conſequently gets nothing for the fallow year. They very amply merit ſuch

rents. Wheat, on the beſt land, yields five or ſix for one. At Vatan, I converſed with a farmer, who, for thirty ſeſterées of arable, and ſix for meadow, pays 600 liv. and eighteen ſeptiers of corn, each twelve boiſeau, that now ſells at 25ſ. He has two oxen, ſix horſes, eight cows, and 700 ſheep. His whole rent, therefore, is about 37l. which, for ſuch a ſtock, appears ridiculous: but it ſeems to be a feudal rent to the ſeigneur, the property of the land being in the man. He ſpoke of his whole farm being thirty-ſix ſeſterées, paying no regard to woods and waſtes that ſupport his live ſtock. At Argenton, wheat produces five or ſix boiſeau of 25lb. per boiſerée, eight of which make a ſeſterée; oats and barley three boiſeau. Advancing, find that they ſow a boiſeau of wheat, of 25lb. per boiſerée of land. Upon the whole of this intelligence concerning Berry, I muſt obſerve, from the portions of ſeed, 180lb. 204lb. 200lb. we may, in a rough way, eſtimate that the arpent, journal, or ſeſterée, nearly equals the arpent of France, and that the reſpective products which amount to 1122lb. 1080lb. and 1096lb. amount, on an average, to about two quarters per acre. M. du Pré de St. Maur ſays. that ordinary land, *terres mediocres*, let in Berry at 15ſ. the arpent*. But all rents are riſen ſince his time.

* *Eſſai ſur les Monnoyes.*

La Marche.

Near Boiſmandé, much ſandy land, that produces rye only, and the crops exceedingly poor; I ſaw much that will not yield more than a quarter per acre, yet the ſand is good, but it is all fallowed. Produce eight boiſeau, of 25lb. per boiſerée. At La Ville au Brun, good ſand yields five boiſeau per boiſerée, but on a general average not more than three. The ſeptier is eight boiſeau, and the ſeſterée, or arpent, eight boiſerée. From theſe proportions it ſhould ſeem, that the Berry meaſure continues here.

Limoſin.

In this province the ſeſterée is 625 toiſes, or 21,500 feet; it is ſown with four quartiers of 28lb. or 112lb. (218lb.) Rye produces four times the ſeed, but no trifling quantity is ſown, that hardly yields more than the ſeed, by reaſon of poverty and bad management. At Limoge I was informed, that the whole province, on an average, does not yield more than ſix for one of the ſeed of all ſorts of grain; this cannot be more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ of wheat †. The price of land is much increaſed; ſells now at 33 years purchaſe, and yields 3

† In the Cahier of the nobility of Limoges it is aſſerted, that the ſoil is the moſt ungrateful in the kingdom, and gives at moſt but three net for one, but this is an exaggeration. — P. 4.

per cent.; common price 100 liv. (7l. 8s. 9d.) From Limoge to St. George the country is much better than La Marche; there is ſome wheat every where, and the crops are rather ſuperior. Arable 100 liv. the ſeſterée, and at Douzenac 100 to 150 liv. (9l. 5s. 11d.)

In this diſtrict the price of land, on an average, is 7l. 8s. 9d. per acre. The produce is 14 buſhels; the return for ſeed is five for one; and the intereſt paid by purchaſes may be eſtimated at 4 per cent.

General Recapitulation.

Price.

	£.		
North Eaſtern Diſtrict,	29	13	3
The Garonne,	51	10	0
Alſace,	50	0	0
Limagne,	60	0	0

It would fill too much of theſe papers if I were to inſert the reaſons for ſuppoſing the average of theſe, proportioned to the extent of each, to be 33l. per acre, at which I calculate it.

	£.		
Diſtrict of Heath,	19	18	4
Mountain,	21	7	7
Stone,	21	10	2
Chalk,	9	1	5
Gravel,	3	3	4
Various,	7	8	9

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, rejecting fractions, 20l.

Rent.

Rent.

	£.		
North Eaſtern Diſtrict,	1	3	10
Heath, - -	0	16	3
Mountain, - -	0	17	7
Chalk, -	0	6	9
Gravel, -	0	3	0

This table is too incomplete to draw any average from it: the moſt ſatisfactory way of aſcertaining the rent, that is proportioned to the price minuted, is to have recourſe to thoſe notes that contain, at the ſame places, both rent and price; theſe are, on a medium,

	Rent.			Price.		
	l.	s.	d	l.	s.	d
Loam, N. E. Diſtrict,	1	1	5	31	5	0
Heath, -	1	7	0	34	11	2
Mountain, -	1	0	3	22	0	4
Stone, - -	1	8	3	35	10	9
Chalk, -	0	10	4	12	13	3
Gravel, -	0	2	6	3	2	6

Average,—Rent, 18s. 3d. Price, 23l. 3s. 10d. This is 3l. 18s. per cent.

And from hence we may venture to aſſign the rent fairly proportioned to the above general average price of 20l. per acre, viz. 15. 7d. Monſ. Papillon de la Tapy calculates that, on an average, lands that ſell for 520 liv. per arpent, yield a *product* of 7 liv. 11ſ.* by which I ſuppoſe he means rent, this is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; I quote it only to ſhew what mere calculations are worth, that are founded on ſuppoſitions.

* *Tableau Territorial de la France.* Folio. 1789. P. 9.

Produce.

Produce.

Loam; N. E.	23½ buſhels.
——— Garonne,	37
——— Alſace,	26
Average of Loam	25
Heath,	19
Mountain,	18
Stony,	18
Chalk,	13½
Gravel,	12
Various,	14

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, 18 buſhels.

Quantity of Seed ſown.

		lb.
Flanders,	Orchies,	153
Normandy,	Palaiſe,	110
Guienne,	Landron,	160
	Cubſac,	169
Alſace,	Straſbourg,	100
	Befort,	224
Auvergne	Izoire,	173
Bretagne,	Rennes,	166
Anjou,	Angers,	172
Languedoc;	Cauſſan,	192
Provence,	Tour d'Aigues,	167
Angoumois,	Verteuil,	130
Orleanois,	Blois,	157
Bourbonnois,	Moulins,	140
Limoſin,	Limoge,	218

Average, 161 lb. per Engliſh acre.

* In calculating this average, I aſſign thirty as the produce of the Garonne diſtrict, and then give it the proportion of its full extent.

Return

Return for Seed.

District of Loam,	8 for 1.
Heath,	6
Mountain,	5
Stone,	4
Gravel,	5
Various,	5

The average may probably be ſtated at ſix for one. It is hardly to be conceived by what miſerable management they can contrive to get ſuch a wretched produce; but as they are univerſal fallowiſts, except on the richeſt ſoils, we may conſider it as an exact picture of the conſequences that flow from this abſurd practice. The French writers depreſs the products of their kingdom even below this: Monſ. Queſnay ſays it is only five for one on good lands †; and Monſ. l'Abbé Raynal four and half on an average of all.

Intereſt per cent.

District of Loam, N. E.	3
Alſace,	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Heath,	5
Mountain,	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Stone,	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Chalk,	4
Gravel,	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Various,	4

Average, $3\frac{3}{4}$.

† *Encyclopedia.* Tom. i. p. 189. Folio.

And

And now, drawing the whole into one view, we may ſay.

That the average price of all the cultivated land in the kingdom is, per Engliſh acre, 26l.
That the rent of ſuch part as is let is 15s. 7d.
That the average produce of wheat and rye is 18 buſhels.
That the ſeed yields return 6 for 1.
That land pays per cent. 3¾.

OBSERVATIONS.

I muſt, in the firſt place, caution the reader againſt ſuppoſing, that theſe proportions are applicable to the whole territory of France; vines, and waſtes, and gardens, and ſpots of extraordinary fertility are excluded; and the price of 26l. per acre, and the rent, of 15s. 7d. are thoſe of the cultivated lands commonly found throughout the kingdom. No waſte, no ſheep-walk, nor any tracks neglected, and not in profitable produce, are included. But whenever rent is mentioned, we muſt recollect, that much the greater part of the lands of France are not let at a money-rent, but at one-half or one-third produce, and that in thoſe places, in the central and ſouthern provinces, and in ſeveral of the northern ones, where rent occurs in the notes, it is probable that for one acre ſo let, there are twenty at half produce. This will ſerve in a good meaſure to explain the height of the rent here minuted, on compariſon with the huſbandry.

—Such

—Such management in England would not afford any ſuch rent; but as the landlord in France is obliged to ſtock his farms at his own expence, the greatneſs of this rent is more apparent than real; for it muſt not only pay him for the uſe of his land, but alſo for that of the capital which he is obliged, through the poverty of the farmers, to inveſt upon it. Another circumſtance, which raiſes rent beyond all compariſon with it in England, is the freedom from poor rates; to which may be added, the very moderate demands made for tythes. By combining the preceding tables, there appears ſome reaſon to believe, that the perſons who, in different parts of the kingdom, give me intelligence of the intereſt per cent. accruing from land had in contemplation rather the *groſs receipt*, than the *net profit*. The two accounts of rental and price give 3l. 18s. per cent. groſs receipt;—if the two vingtiemes, and 4*s.* per liv. being the landlord's tax, are deducted, there will remain about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—from which there muſt be a further deduction for incidental loſſes; and for the intereſt of the capital inveſted in live ſtock; which will certainly demand ſome deductions. It ſhould therefore ſeem, that 3, or $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. abſolutely net is as much as can be reckoned by this account; whereas the direct intelligence was $3\frac{3}{4}$. Theſe little variations will for ever ariſe in ſuch inquiries, when founded, as they muſt be, on the intelligence received from ſuch a variety of perſons, who have different degrees of knowledge and accuracy.

In order to judge the better of these particulars, so interesting to the political arithmetician, it will be necessary to contrast them with the similar circumstances of England; by which method their merit or deficiency, may be more clearly discriminated. In respect to England, may be remarked, in the first place a very singular circumstance, which is the near approximation of the two kingdoms, in the two articles of *price* and *rent*. The rent of cultivated land in England, exclusive of sheep-walks, warrens, and wastes, if it could be known accurately, would be probably found not much to exceed 15s. 7d. per acre; at least I am inclined to think so, for several reasons, too complex to give here: I have indeed none for fixing on that exact sum; but I should calculate it somewhere between 15s. and 16s. Now 15s. 7d. at twenty six years purchase, which I take to be the present average price of land in this kingdom (1790 and 1791), is 20l. 5s. 2d. The two kingdoms are, therefore, on a foot of equality in this respect. The interest paid by land in France, is higher than in England, where it cannot be calculated at more than three, perhaps not more than 2½. If it be thought extraordinary, that land should sell for as high a price in France as in England, there are not wanted circumstances to explain the reason. In the first place, the net profit received from estates is greater. There are no poor rates in that kingdom; and tythes are much more moderately exacted, as it has been observed above. Repairs, which form a considerable de-

duction

duction with us, are a very trifling one with them. But what operates as much, or perhaps more than theſe circumſtances, is the number of ſmall properties. I have touched ſeveral times on this point in the courſe of the notes, and its influence pervades every part of the kingdom. All the ſavings which are made by the lower claſſes in France, are inveſted in land; but this practice is ſcarcely known in England, where ſuch ſavings are uſually lent on bond or mortgage, or inveſted in the public funds. This cauſes a competition for land in France, which, very fortunately for the proſperity of our agriculture, does not obtain here.

As to the next article, namely, the acreable produce of corn land, the difference will be found very great indeed; for in England, the average produce of wheat and rye (nineteen-twentieths the former) is twenty-four buſhels, which form a vaſt ſuperiority to eighteen, the produce of France; amounting to twelve for one of the ſeed, inſtead of five for one. But the ſuperiority is greater than is apparent in the proportion of theſe two numbers; for the corn of England, as far as reſpects *dreſſing*, that is cleaning from dirt, chaff, ſeeds of weeds, &c. is as much better than that of France, as would make the difference at leaſt twenty-five (inſtead of twenty-four) to eighteen; and I am inclined to think even more. There is not a plank threſhing floor in France; and no miller can grind corn as he receives it from the farmer, without further cleaning. Another point yet more impra-

important, is, that English wheat, in much the greater part of our kingdom, ſucceeds other preparatory crops; whereas the wheat of France follows almoſt univerſally a dead fallow, on which is ſpread all the dung of the farm. A circumſtance, which ought to give a conſiderable ſuperiority to the French crops, is that of climate, which in France is abundantly better for this production than in England; and, what is ſtill of greater moment, the ſpring corn of France, compared with that of England, is abſolutely contemptible, and indeed unworthy of any idea of compariſon. While, therefore, in France, the wheat and rye are relied on for the almoſt total ſupport of the farm and farmer, reaſon tells us, that the wheat ought to be much ſuperior to the produce of a country, in which it does not bear an equally important part. Laſtly, let me obſerve, that the ſoil of France is, for the moſt part, better than that of England. Under theſe various circumſtances, for the average produce of the former, to be ſo much inferior, is truly remarkable. But eighteen buſhels of wheat and rye, and miſerable ſpring corn, afford as high a rent in France, as twenty-four in England, with the addition of our excellent ſpring corn; this forms a ſtriking contraſt, and leads to the explanation of the difference. It ariſes very much from the poverty of the French tenantry; for the political inſtitutions and ſpirit of the government having, for a long ſeries of ages, tended ſtrongly to depreſs the lower claſſes, and favour the higher ones, the farmers, in the

greateſt

greater part of France, are blended with the peaſantry; and, in point of wealth, are hardly ſuperior to the common labourers; theſe poor farmers are *metayers*, who find nothing towards ſtocking a farm but labour and implements; and being exceedingly miſerable, there is rarely a ſufficiency of the latter. The landlord is better able to provide live ſtock; but, engaged in a diſſipated ſcene of life, probably at a diſtance from the farm, and being poor, like country gentlemen in many other parts of Europe, he ſtocks the farm not one penny beyond the moſt preſſing neceſſity:—from which ſyſtem a wretched produce muſt unavoidably reſult. That the tenantry ſhould generally be poor, will not be thought ſtrange, when the taxes laid upon them are conſidered; their tailles and capitation are heavy in themſelves; and the weight being increaſed by being laid arbitrarily, proſperity and good management are little more than ſignals for a higher aſſeſſment. Under ſuch a ſyſtem, a wealthy tenantry, on arable land, can hardly ariſe. With theſe farmers, and this management, it is not much to be wondered at, that the land yields no more than eighteen buſhels. Such a tenantry, contributing ſo little beyond the labour of their hands, are much more at the landlord's mercy than would be the caſe of wealthier farmers, who, poſſeſſing a capital proper for their undertakings, are not content with a profit leſs than ſufficient to return them a due intereſt for their money; and the conſequence is, that the proprietor cannot

have

have so high a rent as he has from *metayers*, who, possessing nothing are content merely to live. Thus, in the division of the gross produce, the landlord in France gets half; but in England, in the shape of rent only, from a fourth to a tenth; commonly from a fourth to a sixth. On some lands he gets a third, but that is uncommon. Nothing can be simpler than the principles upon which this is founded. The English tenant must not only be able to support himself and his family, but must be paid for his capital also,——upon which the future produce of the farm depends, as much as on the land itself.

The importance of a country producing twenty-five bushels per acre instead of eighteen, is prodigious; but it is an idle deception to speak of twenty-five, for the superiority of English spring corn (barley and oats) is doubly greater than that of wheat and rye, and would justify me in proportioning the corn products of England, in general, compared with those of France, as twenty-eight to eighteen *; and I am well persuaded, that such a ratio would be no exaggeration. Ten millions of acres produce more corn than fifteen millions; consequently a territory of one hundred millions of acres more than equals another of one hundred and fifty millions. It is from such facts that we must seek for an explanation of the power of En-

* In the *Cahier de la Noblesse de Blois*, p. 26, it is asserted, that the land products of England are to those of France, arpent for arpent, as forty-eight to eighteen. But on what authority.

gland

gland, which has ventured to meaſure itſelf with that of a country ſo much more populous, extenſive, and more favoured by nature as France really is; and it is a leſſon to all governments whatever, that if they would be powerful, they muſt encourage the only real and permanent baſis of power, AGRICULTURE. By enlarging the quantity of the products of land in a nation, all thoſe advantages flow which have been attributed to a great population, but which ought, with much more truth, to have been aſſigned to a great conſumption; ſince it is not the mere number of people, but their eaſe and welfare, which conſtitute national proſperity. The difference between the corn of France and England is ſo great, that it would juſtify ſome degree of ſurpriſe, how any political writer could ever expreſs any degree of amazement, that a territory, naturally ſo inconſiderable as the Britiſh iſles, on compariſon with France, ſhould ever become equally powerful; yet this ſentiment, founded in mere ignorance, has been very common. With ſuch an immenſe ſuperiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious ſurpriſe ſhould have been, that the reſources of England, compared with thoſe of France, were not yet more deciſive. But it is to be obſerved, that there are other articles of culture to which recourſe muſt be had for an explanation: vines are an immenſe object in the cultivation of the latter kingdom, and yield all the advantages, and even ſuperior ones to thoſe afforded by the aſſiduous culture of corn in England. Maiz is alſo an article of great conſequence in the

French

French huſbandry; olives, ſilk, and lucerne are not to be forgotten; nor ſhould we omit mentioning the fine paſtures of Normandy, and every article of culture in the rich acquiſitions of Flanders, Alſace, and part of Artois, as well as on the banks of the Garonne. In all this extent, and it is not ſmall, France poſſeſſes a huſbandry equal to our own; and it is from well ſeconding the fertility of nature in theſe diſtricts, and from a proper attention to the plants adapted to the ſoil, that there has ariſen any equality in the reſources of the two kingdoms; for, without this, France, with all the ample advantages ſhe otherwiſe derives from nature, would be but a petty power, on compariſon with Great Britain. In order the better to underſtand how the great difference of product between the French and Engliſh crops may affect the agriculture of the two kingdoms it will be proper to obſerve, that the farmer in England will reap as much from his courſe of crops, in which wheat and rye occur but ſeldom, as the Frenchman can from his, in which they return often.

An Engliſh Courſe.		*A French Courſe.*	
1, Turnips,		1, Fallow,	
2, Barley,		2, Wheat,	18
3, Clover,		3, Barley, or oats,	
4, Wheat,	25	4, Fallow,	
5, Turnips,		5, Wheat,	18
6, Barley,		6, Barley, or oats,	
7, Clover,		7, Fallow,	
8, Wheat,	25	8, Wheat,	18
9, Tares, or beans,		9, Barley, or oats,	
10, Wheat,	25	10, Fallow,	
11, Turnips,		11, Wheat,	18
	75		72

The Engliſhman, in eleven years, gets three buſhels more of wheat than the Frenchman. He gets three crops of barley, tares, or beans, which produce nearly twice as many buſhels per acre, as what the three French crops of ſpring corn produce. And he farther gets, at the ſame time, three crops of turnips and two of clover, the turnips worth 40s. the acre, and the clover 60s. that is 12l. for both. What an enormous ſuperiority! More wheat; almoſt double of the ſpring corn; and above 20s. per acre per annum in turnips and clover. But farther; the Engliſhman's land, by means of the manure ariſing from the conſumption of the turnips and clover is in a conſtant ſtate of improvement, while the Frenchman's farm is ſtationary. Throw the whole into a caſh-account, and it will ſtand thus:——

Engliſh Syſtem.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 75 buſhels, at 5s.	18	15	0
Spring corn three crops, at 32 buſhels, 96 buſhels, at 2s. 6d.	12	0	0
Clover two crops,	6	0	0
	36	15	0
Per acre per annum,	3	6	10

French Syſtem.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 72 buſhels, at 5s.	18	0	0
Spring corn three crops, at 20 buſhels, 60 buſhels, at 2s. 6d.	7	10	0
	25	10	0
Per acre per annum,	2	6	4

In allowing the French ſyſtem to produce twenty buſhels of ſpring corn, while I aſſign thirty-two only to the Engliſh, I am confident that I favour the former conſiderably; for I believe the Engliſh produce is the double of that of France; but ſtating it as above, here are the proportions of thirty-ſix on an improving farm to twenty-five on a ſtationary one; that is to ſay, a country containing 82,000,000 acres produces as much as another, whoſe area contains 119,000,000, which are in the ſame ratio as thirty-ſix and twenty-five.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the French Courſes of Crops.

THERE is no circumſtance, which ſo ſtrongly diſtinguiſhes the knowledge of the preſent age, in the theory and practice of huſbandry, on compariſon with that of all preceding periods, as this of the right arrangement of the crops cultivated on arable land. Compared with this, all other articles are of very little importance. And were the preſent the proper place to expatiate on it, I ſhould not be ill employed in explaining the amazing ignorance or negligence of the generality of writers in either totally omitting, or groſsly miſtaking, a ſubject ſo eſſential to every ſpecies of good management *. Unleſs this part of the farmer's conduct be well underſtood, the greateſt exertion and improvement in other branches of his buſineſs, loſe their effect; and a nation finds the cultivation of its territory, producing wealth and proſpe-

* It is a ſingular circumſtance, that till the year 1768, there did not appear a ſingle work (as far as I can judge from my collection, which is conſiderable), where this ſubject was treated with any tolerable attention to thoſe rules of practice, which are now ſo well known.

rity, almoſt exactly in proportion to the intelligence with which its huſbandmen obſerve this leading principle of the art. As the difference between good and bad farmers depends more on this point than on any other, ſo the difference between well and ill cultivated countries is almoſt wholly reſolvable into the effects derived from the rotation of crops,— a ſubject ſo important, that an ample diſſertation would be neceſſary fully to elucidate it; for the preſent, I can only inſert the miſerable rotations commonly practiſed in France; and briefly explain in how great a degree the errors and deficiencies of the huſbandry of that kingdom, and of every other, flow from this ſource. The moſt ſatisfactory method will be to arrange the courſes according to the ſoils in which they are found.

District of Rich Loam.

Through the provinces of Picardy, Iſle of France, Normandy, and part of Artois, the prevalent courſe is, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn;— there are ſome variations, but not of conſequence. In Flanders, and the reſt of Artois, the management is exceedingly good; crops are in conſtant ſucceſſion, without a fallow being known:—— the ſuperiority of the huſbandry between Valenciennes and Lille may be eaſily conceived, from this common courſe:—1, wheat,—and after it turnips the ſame year; 2, oats; 3, clover; 4, wheat;

wheat; 5, hemp; 6, wheat; 7, flax; 8, coleſeed; 9, wheat; 10, beans; 11, wheat.

Obſervations.

Of this great portion of the richeſt and moſt fertile part of France it is only an inconſiderable diſtrict, viz. the conquered province of Flanders and part of Artois, that are well cultivated. Hence it ſhould appear, that the inſtitutions of the French government have been unfavourable to agriculture; and indeed we ſhall find a confirmation of this remark in Alſace, another territory very well cultivated, and alſo conquered. When we ſee ſome of the fineſt, deepeſt, and moſt fertile loams that are to be met with in the world, ſuch as thoſe between Bernay and Elbeuf, and part of the Pays de Caux, in Normandy, and the neighbourhood of Meaux, in the Iſle of France, deſtined to the common barbarous courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; and the produce of this ſpring corn beneath contempt; the whole exertion and produce being ſeen in a crop of wheat, we muſt be convinced, that agriculture, in ſuch a kingdom, is on the ſame footing as in the tenth century. If theſe lands were then tilled at all, they were, in all probability, as well tilled as at preſent. The country, in ſome parts of this N. E. diſtrict, being in open fields, and mixed properties, accounts very well for the ſyſtem there purſued; but it is a very partial anſwer to my objection, ſince there are large portions much incloſed, in

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which the farmer might vary his rotation as he pleaſed; and we accordingly ſee Monſ. Crette, at Dugny, rejecting fallows:—I truſt it is more a want of light and knowledge, than of power: and the cleareſt proof of this fact, is the ſame huſbandry being purſued in accidental incloſures that are found in open diſtricts, as in the fields, burthened with deteſtable common rights. However, as far as theſe extend, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is no power of improvement; and if the preſent conſtitution of France be entirely ſettled at laſt on mere democratical principles, no improvements, *in this reſpect*, can ever be looked for; becauſe common rights uſually give, to the loweſt of the people, who have no property, a power of invading the properties of others; and the omnipotence of *the people* (by which term, ſhould be underſtood men without property) in a pure democracy, will give more efficacy to their right of injury, than to any right of preſervation. Where the people have no right over arable lands, the common conſent of properties and farmers might do much; but how is ſuch a conſent to be looked for?——We may aſk ourſelves this queſtion, as we well know that nothing among us, but legiſlative authority, will force men to follow their own manifeſt intereſts. The general ignorance of good agriculture is not, in this reſpect of courſes of crops, more obvious in the fields of the farmer, than in the French books of rural œconomy. I could quote ſome hundred writers who boaſt of the culture of the Pays de Beauce, and of Picardy; yet

yet thoſe vey diſtricts are totally void of all merit, being bound in the thraldom of regular fallows, and producing but one good crop in three years.

Plain of Alsace.

In this flat vale of rich land the fields are never fallowed; the crops ſubſtituted, and preparatory to wheat, &c. are potatoes, poppies for oil, peaſe, maiz, vetches, clover, beans, hemp, tobacco, and cabbages.

Obſervations.

The rich plain of Alſace reſembles Flanders, but is inferior in ſoil and management, yet both are excellent. The importance of getting two crops a year is better underſtood in Flanders, or at leaſt more ſpiritedly practiſed; yet we are not to ſuppoſe them deficient in Alſace; but there is not an equal number of great towns to yield equal quantities of manure. The variety of crops in culture, however, is here a conſiderable merit; and ſhews a freedom from the ſilly and bigotted notion of the French (if I may uſe the expreſſion), ſo common throughout the kingdom, of conſidering every thing as inferior to wheat; and of looking upon thoſe rotations only as deſerving of notice, in which it quickly recurs. It is remarkable that the good principles of management, in reſpect to courſes of crops in Alſace, have not the power to baniſh, or even leſſen, fallows an inch beyond

beyond the capital ſoils. It does not extend beyond Savern one way, nor beyond Iſenheim another; the ſoil declining, the management declines; and you immediately find barren fallows on ſand that would give the fineſt crops of turnips. The ſame remark is applicable to the rich diſtrict of the N. E. The methods of Flanders and Artois have no effect beyond the deep fertile ſoils; nor the principles of thoſe methods, which are to the full as applicable to poor land as to that which is rich. They would demand turnips for the preparation on poor land, as much as beans or cabbages on the richer ſoils; but though ſuch principles are vigorouſly carried into execution on the latter, they are abſolutely unknown in the neighbourhood on the former. In this circumſtance, as I ſhall ſhew more at large in another chapter, conſiſts the material difference between Engliſh and French agriculture. The barren ſands of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the poor flints of Buckinghamſhire, and the chalks of Hertford are as well cultivated as the rich loams of Kent and Berkſhire. There is as much merit in the turnips upon ſand, as in the beans upon clay. The ſainfoin on chalk and flints lay claim to the ſame merit as the wheat and hops of the deeper loams. Such ſpectacles are common in England, the ſame principles governing the cultivation of counties abſolutely diſtinct in ſoils; but ſtep out of Flanders or Artois into Picardy, or out of the plain of Alſace into Lorgine or Franche Compté, and all principles, connections, combination, and ideas

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are all broken; you are in a new kingdom; you paſs a line of ſeparation between common ſenſe and folly. Here you are in a garden; croſs a river, and it is the field of the ſluggard:—on one ſoil the human mind ſeems active and alive, on the other it is torpid and dead. It will, perhaps, be found that this ſingular fact depends on government; but this is not the proper place for the inquiry.

Plain of Limagne.

Some pieces fallowed: ſtubbles ploughed to put in another crop. No fallow ever known at Vertaiſon Chauriet. Rye after hemp, and then dung for hemp again. Wheat after beans, and after rye alſo, and rye after wheat. Plant cabbages directly after hemp: 1, barley; 2, rye; 3, hemp; 4, rye. The reaſon for ſowing rye in this rich vale is ſingular; they aſſert that it is too fertile for wheat. Dr. Brés ſhewed me his beſt land ſown with rye, and his worſt with wheat: this plant on the rich land runs ſo much to ſtraw, that the produce is ſmall. It is evident from theſe few *traits*, that they underſtand the right management of their fertile plain very indifferently; and that, in this material part of the farmer's art, they are backward and uninformed.

Plain of the Garonne.

In travelling ſouthward from the Limoſin, it is a remarkable circumſtance that fallows never ceaſe

till maiz is met with; but that afterwards this plant becomes the preparation for wheat in the courſe, 1, maiz; 2, wheat; and this huſbandry commences at no great diſtance from Creiſſenſac, in Quercy; here begins alſo the culture of what they call *gieyſe*, which is a *lathyrus*, I believe *ſitifolius*, and alſo *jaraſh*, the *vicia lathyroides*. Theſe plants are ſown both in September and the ſpring, and aſſiſt in baniſhing fallows. Turnips are there found likewiſe, and more than in moſt other parts of France; they are a ſecond crop ſown after wheat and rye. Not far from Cahors four other articles are found in common cultivation, viz. a *vicia ſativa varietas*, the *cicer arietinum*, the *ervum lens*, and the *lupinus albus*; but maiz as a preparation is of much more conſequence, and hemp of yet greater; by means of which articles, fallows on the rich lands are unknown; but upon the inferior ones they are found as every where elſe in France.

The leading features of huſbandry in this rich plain of the Garonne, are ſimilar to what I have already remarked in the preceding diſtricts. Where the ſoil is of ſuch capital fertility, as to demand nothing that bears the reſemblance of improvement, crops the moſt profitable are crouded in; and the land is well cultivated, though with little merit in the cultivator; but where inferior ſoils demand ſomething more of exertion, there is here, as in all other parts of France, an abſolute blank; a fallow is the immediate reſource, and you ſtep at once from good into execrable management.

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The turnip culture of Qercy is a ſingular circumſtance in French huſbandry; I was not there at a ſeaſon that enables me to ſpeak of the methods in which that plant is cultivated, nor of the ſucceſs; but as we ſaw many fields, uncropped, in preparation for it, I am willing to believe that they really have the culture; and yet the univerſality of *raves* in France, called *rabbet*, *rabbioules*, &c. &c. another plant, and much inferior to the real turnip, do not leave me entirely free from ſuſpicion. I thought the queſtion merited attention, and I procured a few ſeeds, which I ſowed at Bradfield; I had but two plants; one was a turnip, but of a habit and ſize very much inferior to our own; the other was a rave, that is to ſay with a carrot root (not at all like a tankard turnip), long, thin, poor, and, compared with turnips, of no worth. They have many of them in culture near Caen, in Normandy, in the road to Bayeaux. It is plain the *navets*, cultivated in Breſſe, are alſo the ſame plant, from the deſcription of Monſ. Varenne de Fenille, who ſays they are like turnips, *à cela près que ſa formie eſt plus alongée**. The culture of the *lathyrus*, of vetches, and of the varieties of peaſe, &c. in the ſame province, are points of merit; and the more ſo, as they are found in conſiderable quantities on ſoils which, though rich, do not equal the exuberant fertility of the lower vales. The moſt ſingular circumſtance in the preceding minutes, is the infinite

* *Obſerv. ſur l'Agricult. p.* 42.

importance of the culture of maiz. From Calais to Creiſſenſae, in Quercy, you never once quit fallows; but no ſooner do you enter the climate of maiz, than fallows are abandoned, except on the pooreſt ſoils: this is very curious. The line of maiz may be ſaid to be the diviſion between the good huſbandry of the S. and the bad huſbandry of the N. of the kingdom. Till you meet with maiz, very rich ſoils are fallowed, but never after; perhaps it is the moſt important plant that can be introduced into the agriculture of any country whoſe climate will ſuit it. It is a more ſure crop than wheat; its product, in the food of man, is ſo conſiderable, that the populouſneſs of a country is neceſſary very different without, or with this article of culture; it is, at the ſame time, a rich meadow for a conſiderable part of the ſummer, the leaves being ſtripped regularly for oxen, affording a ſucculent, and moſt fattening food, which accounts for the high order of all cattle in the ſouth of France, in Spain, and in Italy, in ſituations that ſeem to deny all common meadows. It is planted in ſquares or rows ſo far aſunder, that all imaginable tillage may be given between them; and the ground thus cleaned and prepared at the will of the farmer, is an invaluable circumſtance; and finally, it is ſucceeded by wheat.—Thus a country, whoſe ſoil and climate admit the courſe of, 1, maiz; 2, wheat, is under a cultivation that, perhaps, yields the moſt food for man and beaſt, that is poſſible to be drawn from the land; for as to potatoes, it would be idle to conſider them

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in the ſame view as an article of human food, which ninety-nine hundredths of the human ſpecies will not touch. They have in provinces where the people will live on them, a ſimilar, though perhaps an inferior merit. But maiz has the additional advantage of affording the beſt food that is known for fattening oxen, hogs, and poultry, by grinding, or otherwiſe preparing the ſeed; thus affording a meadow to feed your cattle in ſummer, and grain to fatten them in winter. In ſome of the minutes, mention is made of a practice which deſerves attention, namely, that of ſowing it broadcaſt, and thick for mowing to ſoil cattle. In the ſouth of France, the climate permits this ſo late, that ſuch ſowing is always for an after-crop—and never done except after the reaping of ſome other produce. Such practices ſhould convince us of the ſuperiority of the ſouthern climates; and ought to inſtigate the farmers in our northerly ones to emulate theſe examples as cloſely as poſſible, by adopting the principle, though we have not the power to transfer the plant. Ploughing our ſtubbles not *after*, but *in* harveſt, for turnips, and coleſeed, approaches as nearly as our climate will admit. We have had a variety of turnips, and cabbages, and other plants introduced. I wiſh we had a turnip that would bear this late ſowing better than the common one. I cannot quit this ſubject, without remarking, that a very ſenſible French writer, ſpeaking of the culture of maiz in Breſſe, and particularly of ſowing the land every year in the courſe of, 1, maiz;

maiz; 2, wheat, condemns it:—*cet uſage me ſemble pernicieux* *; and in another place recommends fallow.———I am ſorry to ſay, that this great point of the arrangement of crops is as little underſtood by the enlightened world in France, as by the peaſants themſelves; one can hardly give a more ſtriking inſtance than that of an *œconomiſte*, who ſays, "clover does ſo much good to land, that you may take two or three ſucceſſive crops of oats, before ſowing the land with wheat †."

General Remarks.

Throwing theſe ſeveral rich diſtricts together, in union with one which I know by report only (the Bas Poitou), amounting in the whole to a territory almoſt as large as England, we cannot but admit, that France is in poſſeſſion of a ſoil, and even of a huſbandry, that is to be ranked very high amongſt the beſt in Europe. Flanders, part of Artois, the rich plain of Alſace, the banks of the Garonne, and a conſiderable part of Quercy are cultivated more like gardens than farms. Perhaps they are too much like gardens, from the ſmallneſs of properties; but this is not the place to examine that queſtion, which is curious enough to demand a more particular diſcuſſion. The rapid ſucceſſion of crops; the harveſt of one being but the ſig-

* *Obſerv. Exper. et Mem. ſur l'Agricult. par M. Varenne de Feniile.* 8vo. 1789. p. 24.

† Encyclopædie. Tom. 5. p. 688. Folio.

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nal of ſowing immediately for a ſecond, can ſcarcely be carried to greater perfection: and this in a point, perhaps of all others the moſt eſſential to good huſbandry, when ſuch crops are ſo juſtly diſtributed, as we generally find them in theſe provinces; cleaning and ameliorating ones being made the preparation for ſuch as foul and exhauſt. Theſe are provinces, which even an Engliſh farmer might viſit with advantage. Such praiſe, however, cannot be given indiſcriminately; for fallows diſgrace, in ſome rich diſtricts, the fineſt ſoils imaginable: a country can hardly be worſe cultivated than Picardy, Normandy, and the Pays de Beauce; every acre of which provinces would admit the excluſion of fallows, with as much propriety as Flanders itſelf. In the Pays de Caux, where fallows are very much excluded, for want of underſtanding the right arrangement of crops, their noble ſoil is full of beggary and weeds.

District of Heath.

To detail all the barbarous rotations, which ignorance has ſpread through Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou, would be tedious; the general feature of their management is to pare and burn the fields exhauſted, abandoned, and by time recovered, that a ſucceſſion of crops may bring it once more into the ſame ſituation. Great quantities of buckwheat are found every where. In St. Pol de Leon there is a better conduct; parſnips are found; but broom is, even there, an object of profit

profit. Common courſe, 1, broom, ſown with oats; 2, 3, 4, broom; it is cut the fourth year, but fed all the four: 5, wheat; 6, rye; 7, buck-wheat; 8, oats, or broom.———This moſt ſingular culture of broom is for fuel; the country has neither coals nor wood——and broom faggots ſell ſo well, that a good arpent is worth about 400 liv. or about 16l. 16s. an Engliſh acre. But it is of a height and thickneſs of produce, in St. Pol de Leon, much exceeding any thing I have ſeen; and they ſay, that four years growth of broom improves the land.

Obſervations.

The vaſt province of Bretagne, which bears a near reſemblance to Maine and Anjou, is perhaps as ſtriking an inſtance as Europe affords of the immenſe importance of the right arrangement of crops; a great portion of all the three provinces is under cultivation, even a regular cultivation, however barbarous; yet ſo infamouſly cropped, that almoſt the whole muſt appear to a traveller an abſolute waſte. It was to me an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle, to ſee ſuch a wretched ſtate of agriculture in a province like Bretagne, which I knew enjoyed ſome of the moſt valuable privileges in the kingdom; which poſſeſſed one of the greateſt linen fabrics in Europe; and which was ſurrounded in every part by the ſea, and abounded with ports and commerce But Flanders itſelf would, if cropped like Bretagne, become poor and contemptible

temptible. A great portion of the three provinces abovementioned is adapted to ſainfoin, and yet a ſprig of it is not found. Every acre that I ſaw was perfectly well adapted to turnips and clover, and conſequently to the Norfolk huſbandry; but there is nothing except broom, furz, weeds, waſte, and corn. Not an appearance of any thing for the winter-ſupport of cattle and ſheep, except ſtraw. Theſe provinces are admirably calculated for ſheep; but the number is too inconſiderable to be noticed. A change of the rotation of crops is the only thing wanted to alter the face of theſe provinces. It would be an impropriety to ſay, that government and feudal oppreſſions are the ſole cauſe; and that if theſe are not reverſed, nothing could be done; for the rich proprietors and wealthy farmers, the number of whom is very conſiderable, as well as the nobility themſelves, have their eſtates and farms exactly in the ſame condition, cropped in the ſame manner, and covered with the ſame quantity of weeds and rubbiſh. Conſidering how well adapted the ſoil and climate are to ſheep much the greater part of all the three provinces ought to be in ſome ſuch courſe as this; 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat. Alſo, 1, turnips; 2, barley, or oats; 3, artificial graſſes, for three years; 4, wheat; 5, winter tares, peaſe, beans, or buck-wheat; 6, wheat; with no other variation than taking the winter tares, peaſe, and beans immediately on the lay, if the ground abounded with the red worm, and wheat following. By

ſuch courſes, theſe provinces would produce more than the double of what they do at preſent.

GASCOIGN.

I muſt, in the firſt place, remark, that the lands in which the preceding courſes take place, are but a ſmall part of this heath diviſion, which is moſtly either mountain, waſte, or *lande*; and that the *landes*, or heaths, of Bourdeaux cover two hundred ſquare leagues of territory; not abſolute waſte, but cropped with pines for reſin only. And there are other vaſt tracks that yield little beſides fern, and other ſpontaneous rubbiſh. In the ſmall diſtricts that are under cultivation, huſbandry, as it appears from the preceding minutes, is infinitely better underſtood than in the other great diviſion of heath, Bretagne, &c. It is, on the contrary, in ſome places practiſed on very enlightened principles; a circumſtance that muſt, if ever thoſe waſtes become cultivated, have very powerful effects in ſpreading there that good ſyſtem already eſtabliſhed in the country.

About St. Palais to Bayonne, many turnips in a ſingular huſbandry. I obſerved ſeveral fields quite black, and demanding what it was, found it the aſhes of burnt ſtraw: I afterwards ſaw them ſtrewing ſtraw thickly over the land. They do this on a wheat ſtubble, but do not think they leave ſtubble enough, and therefore ſpread much ſtraw, ſet fire to it, and it burns all weeds as well as itſelf, cleaning as well as manuring the land.

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As there are immenſe waſtes through all the country covered with fern, I aſked why they did not burn that, and keep their ſtraw? The reply was, that they preferred fern for making dung, cutting a great deal of it for litter. As ſoon as burnt they plough and harrow. They hoe and hand-weed, as I was told. After turnips ſow maiz, in this courſe, 1, maiz; 2, wheat and turnips; which is certainly deſerving of commendation.

St. Vincent.—They ſow clover among maiz in Auguſt; at the end of April or the beginning of May the clover is cut once, yielding a fine crop, ſometimes three feet in height; it is then ploughed up, and maiz planted again; after which ſomething elſe. Another courſe is to ſow rye; after that millet; and with this *barricots*, or kidney-beans.

Dax to Tartas.——They have three crops in two years in this courſe; 1, maiz; 2, rye, and then millet. Clover, called *farouche*, is ſown alone throughout the country, at the beginning of September; mown for hay in ſpring, and ploughed for maiz, in which caſe it is after rye, inſtead of millet: nothing can be better huſbandry.

To St. Severe good maiz; much land ploughed ready for clover. All the men and women in the country now hoing millet (Auguſt 17th), on three feet ridges, with three irregular rows on each ridge; clean as a garden. 1, Maiz, and in Auguſt turnips ſown among it; 2, ſpring wheat ſown in January or February, which is nearly as

good as autumnal; 3, clover ſown in September and mown, fine crops, in March or April; 4, maiz planted again; and ſometimes flax ſown among maiz in September and gathered in April: —no fallow. Excellent! Theſe are rotations of a ſuperior kind: all the reſt in the diſtrict are bad.

General Obſervations.

What is equally applicable to all countries, that are, for the moſt part, uncultivated, or at leaſt in a very waſte or rough ſtate, like much in Gaſcoign, Anjou, and Maine, but chiefly in Bretagne, is the proper uſe and application of paring and burning; when ſuch lands are in ſome degree of culture, but not entirely reclaimed, this mode of huſbandry, properly uſed, is excellent; on the contrary, as applied here, it is a moſt barbarous and miſchievous practice. The common method we have ſeen is to burn periodically, and to ſow immediately wheat, rye, barley, or oats, as long as the land will yield a crop worth the reaping; then to throw it aſide, as if of no further value, and leave it to recover itſelf under a coat of weeds broom, fern, furz, or any rubbiſh that may come. Abominable courſes of crops, like theſe, have brought the practice of paring and burning into moſt unjuſt diſrepute in every country in Europe. But ſuch a general condemnation is one inſtance in a thouſand of that utter want of diſcrimination which is ſo pernicious in agriculture. Paring and

and burning, properly managed, that is, in a judicious courſe of crops, is one of the moſt excellent methods of ameliorating land; but it ſhould always be made the preparation for graſs, and not immediately for corn; and it is in this caſe, as in many others, that the man who would wiſh to act on ſound and ſure principles, ſhould bend his views to get graſs on his lands not ill termed a *layer* in Norfolk and Suffolk. Let him inſure graſs, and he needs not be anxious for corn; he has it when he pleaſes. Paring and burning ſhould always be given for a crop, that cattle may eat on the land, either rape, cabbage, or turnip, as the great maſs of alkaline manure ſhould have a mucilaginous one to act upon. A crop of corn, barley or oats (the latter beſt) follows, becauſe you cannot get graſs profitably in ſuch a climate as Bretagne, Maine, or Anjou without corn. In Gaſcoign, where it may ſafely be ſown in September, the neceſſity of corn is not equal. With this firſt ſowing of corn, the graſs ſeeds moſt ſuitable to the ſoil ſhould be ſown; they never fail in ſuch a caſe. And having a fine, clean, and uncontaminated produce of graſs, you may keep it as long as it is profitable, and anſwers your purpoſe; and after that you may break it up for corn, with a phyſical certainty of ſeeing none but crops large in proportion to the ſoil. And in the whole management of laying down, this rule ought never to be departed from, viz. of not letting wheat, rye, barley, or oats follow one another, without a hoeing and ameliorating crop intervening. Let

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ſuch principles govern the waſtes of Bretagne, and animate the heights of Maine and Anjou; and the traveller will not then curſe them for *ſombre*, deſolate, and neglected provinces, but hail the influence of happier days!

District of Mountain.

To Perpignan from Spain, July 21ſt, ſtubbles ploughed up and ſown with millet. No idea of a fallow, where water is at command, ſubſtituting clover, harricots, millet, and maiz; but the laſt not in a large quantity. Their clover culture is very ſingular; they plough their ſtubbles the beginning of Auguſt, and clover ſeed is harrowed, or rather rubbed in by a piece of wood fixed to the plough. This clover produces much luxuriant and valuable food for ſheep and lambs early in the ſpring; after which it is watered, and produces by the end of May a full crop of hay. It is then ploughed up, and harricots, maiz, or millet planted, either of which is off in time for putting in wheat—and after the wheat, another crop of harricot or millet is taken; two crops are therefore gained every year. But where they have no water, fallows are known, which prepare for wheat. The fallow, however, is made on good land to produce millet, harricots, or barley, for forage. In the whole vale from Narbonne to Niſmes, the principal object are vines, olives, or mulberries; but the vale land, wherever good, yields much wheat;

ſome

ſome parts of it being a conſiderable corn country.

Dauphiné — Montelimart. — Immediately after the wheat harveſt ſome buck-wheat, which is now (Auguſt 23d), in full bloſſom; this, on compariſon with England, is gaining a full month of us, which, at this ſeaſon, gives two crops, inſtead of one. With a judicious management, they might have as good turnips after wheat, as we get with almoſt a year's preparation. Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond found all his farm in the fallow courſe; but now there is none, by means of ſainfoin and clover. Another moſt ſingular circumſtance, which ſhews what climate will do, is, that M. Faujas has potatoes eighteen inches high, planted on the ground which produced wheat this year.

Obſervations.

So far as my minutes were taken, fertile vales, however narrow or inconſiderable in extent, may be ſuppoſed to partake nearly of the character of richer diſtricts. The principal range of mountains here croſſed, is the volcanic country of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais; what cultivation I ſaw in them is very bad, and not to be commended, but for its being carried to ſo great an height; it climbs up into regions, where nothing but the greateſt induſtry, animated by property, the moſt powerful of inſtigations, could poſſibly lead it. But in the modes purſued by theſe proprietors, whoſe poſſeſſions are very ſmall, there is little that calls for our

our attention. They are, in general, unenlightened, and practiſe the worſt courſes, with as unremitted exertions as the beſt. The principal, and perhaps the beſt feature of thoſe mountains, are the cheſnuts, which are numerous, and yield a conſiderable revenue to the proprietors. The mountains of *Provence*, which I ſaw both in the neighbourhood of Tour d'Aigues, and on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, are in general a miſerable waſte, and afford no other exhibitions of culture, than ſuch as had perhaps be better omitted; to look for proper courſes of crops, in ſuch caſes, would be abſurd. The mountains of Provence, towards the Alps, by Barcelonetta, &c. are covered, as mountains always ought to be, with herds of cattle, and flocks of ſheep.—The proper application of mountainous regions, is paſturage: whatever cultivation takes place, ſhould be abſolutely ſubſervient to the endeavours, after raiſing the greateſt poſſible quantity of winter food for cattle and ſheep. Wheat, rye, or other crops, to feed the families of the farmers, are, on compariſon with this, of very trivial conſequence. The courſes of crops ſhould therefore be not much more than an arrangement of turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes; with the cultivated graſſes, that give the largeſt products of hay—and with corn, but in ſubſervience to the reſt. Such a ſyſtem, however, will not be found on theſe mountains. Nor is it a wonder that the great object of cattle and ſheep ſhould not be underſtood in remote provinces, when they are ſo groſsly neglected even near

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the capital, where all their products are ſure of an immediate market.

District of Stoney Soils.

This miſerably cultivated diviſion of the kingdom, which preſents few practices in common huſbandry that deſerves attention, offers nothing in the minutes that calls for notice, except the introduction of potatoes in ſome of their courſes; that root being much more cultivated in Lorraine and Franche Compté, than in any other parts of the kingdom with which I am acquainted. The general arrangement of crops throughout theſe provinces, being the common rotation of a third fallow, a third wheat, or rye, and a third barley, or oats, has reſulted from the great quantity of open land therein ſubject to common rights; it is, however, a diſgrace to the cultivators, that they too often purſue the ſame miſerable routine in their incloſures. It would be uſeleſs to dwell on ſuch huſbandry; it is enough to claſs theſe provinces among the worſt cultivated ones (vines excepted) that are to be found in the kingdom; and conſidering the extent of the open fields, there is very little probability of their amelioration.

District of Chalk.

Through the province of Sologne, the General rotation is, 1, fallow; 2, rye, it is the moſt wretched of all the French provinces, as more

than once obſerved. The ſoil is all a ſand, or a ſandy gravel, on a white marl bottom; in ſome places quite chalky; and in others a clay marl, but white; and if we can judge by the ſize and growth of every ſort of wood, it has ſufficient principles of fertility for the production of any crop, well adapted to the nature of its ſurface. In every hole, and in every ditch there is ſtagnant water; ſo that in a dry ſandy country one of the firſt improvements would be a partial draining, which is an extraordinary circumſtance. I have rarely ſeen a country more ſuſceptible of improvement of the moſt obvious nature; nor any better adapted to the Norfolk huſbandry of 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat; rye has no buſineſs here, if the land was marled and thrown into the turnip and clover management; not the clover alone without turnip (which has been the common blunder of half the improvers, as they have called themſelves, in Europe), but by conſidering a good crop of turnips, fed on the land by ſheep, as the arpent of clover, without which that graſs is but a poor matrix for wheat, on any but rich ſoils. The miſery of this *triſte* Sologne, as the French writers call it; the poverty of the farmers; the waſte ſtate of every part of the country reſult, in no inconſiderable degree, from the courſes of crops practiſed; the leaſt and moſt obvious change of them would give a new face to this deſolate province. It is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe worſe huſbandry that what is practiſed; I may almoſt ſay through every acre of the other provinces, which form the reſt of this exten-

extenſive calcareous diſtrict. Where the land is good, they crop without mercy; and where it is bad, they have nothing but fallows and weeds, inſtead of turnips and ſainfoin. All the ideas that regulate the agriculture of theſe chalk provinces muſt be abſolutely annihilated, before any cultivation can be introduced that can make either individuals eaſy, or the community proſperous. It is a ſtrange ſpectacle to ſee vineyards kept in the moſt beautiful and garden-like order, and all the arable lands round them nothing but filth and weeds; and cropped in courſes that either render them foul or ſteril. A conſiderable portion of theſe calcareous diſtricts ſhould be thrown into ſainfoin courſes; and the reſt in rotation of cattle and corn:—one year producing food for cattle and ſheep, and the next food for men or horſes.

District of Gravel.

To give any table of the courſes purſued in the two provinces of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois would be needleſs, ſince but one feature is found throughout them;—1, fallow;—2, rye; a ſyſtem to which they muſt be ſtrangely partial; for it is found in a country of which nine-tenths are incloſed and at the command of farmers to ſow what they pleaſe. It is not produce and ſucceſs that ſhould make them in love with fallows; for the farmers are as poor as their crops! the common produce is four times the ſeed, and they have often leſs; and with all this ploughing and fallow-

ing, which, according to ſome viſionaries, are eſſential towards keeping land clean and in heart, the ſoil is in ſuch a ſtate of degradation, that they actually find it exhauſted by their management, and to reſtore it to ſome degree of fertility, they leave it to weeds and broom for ſeven or eight years, in order to recruit the ſoil, which fallows cannot effect. The world perhaps cannot afford a completer inſtance of the futility of the practice *. From what I obſerved of the Bourbonnois, and I examined it with particular attention, as I had no ſmall temptation to become a farmer in it myſelf —the whole agriculture of it ſhould be ſubſervient to ſheep; and the courſe of crops ſo arranged, as to keep, by means of turnips and durable cultivated graſſes, as large flocks as poſſible. For corn, truſt to turnips, graſſes, and ſheep: ſuch tools muſt be badly handled indeed, if they will not make corn!—and very different corn from the beggarly rye at preſent in theſe provinces.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS.

It is rather a ſingular circumſtance that turnips, or, if not turnips (for I was not there at the time to ſee them), raves, with roots large enough to

* I have heard ſome practical farmers in England aſſert, that rye does not exhauſt; or, at leaſt, much leſs than any other ſort of white corn; if this be true, the exhauſting of theſe provinces is by the operation of fallowing; and the land recruiting, under weeds and broom ſeems to ſpeak the ſame language.

fatten

fatten very good oxen, ſhould in theſe provinces be not at all uncommon; and yet that the culture ſhould hardly have any effects in improving their huſbandry: the fact deſerves attention. I have been finding fault throughout France with their want of turnips; and here they are; and yet am I not ſatisfied!——So a Frenchman would exclaim. But the caſe is a comment on the importance of deeply ſtudying this moſt intereſting branch of huſbandry. It is not turnips that are ſo much wanted as a good courſe of crops. A five-and-twentieth part of a farm ſown with turnips, which are followed by wheat, may be practiſed till doomſday, before a farm will be improved; but let the turnips be eaten on the land by ſheep; ſow barley and clover with it, and take the wheat on the clover; and do this once on four acres; you will then do it on fourteen, and then on forty. But we may eaſily imagine how well turnips are underſtood in a country where the predominant courſe is fallowing for rye. The beſt feature in their huſbandry does not come within the ſcope of this chapter, viz. that of fattening oxen with rye meal, and with the ſmall quantity of turnips which they have. So far as they ſupport cattle by *arable* crops, their merit is conſiderable; and is one material ſtep towards remedying the great deficiency of French huſbandry; but in regard to the arrangement of their crops, they are as barbarous in their practice as their neighbours.

General

General Remarks on the Courſes of the Crops of France.

The particular errors of the reſpective diſtricts, which fell within my knowledge, having been already noted and commented on, there remain at preſent ſome more general obſervations on ſuch circumſtances as are applicable to the whole kingdom. Whatever merit has been found depends on oneof theſe two points, either upon an extraordinary fertility of ſoil, as in the caſe of Flanders, Alſace, and the Garonne, or on the culture of a plant particularly adapted to the ſouthern and middle climates of the kingdom, that is maiz. But as this plant is not found on bad or even ordinary ſoils, the poorer ones, in the ſame climates, are abandoned to nature, or to fallows. It is a moſt ſingular circumſtance, that the worſt ſoils in England are the beſt cultivated, or at leaſt as well cultivated as the moſt fertile; and that in France, none but capital ones are well managed.——When I come to explain the connexion between government and agriculture, this will be accounted for. The leading miſchief, in moſt of the courſes of crops throughout France, is the too great eagerneſs to have as much wheat or rye as poſſible. A vaſt population, and a ſubſiſtence which experience has proved precarious, have been probably the occaſion of it: but the blindneſs of the conduct can, with enlightened perſons, admit of no doubt. The more wheat you ſow, the more you do not

reap;

reap; and that land, which is kept by means of large ſtocks of cattle and ſheep in good heart, will yield more when ſown but once in four years, than with fewer cattle it would do if ſown every third year. In the arrangement of courſes, it is neceſſary to throw all ſuch views abſolutely out of the queſtion: that conduct, in this reſpect, which is ſuitable to an individual, is proper for a nation. It rarely anſwers to a man to change his purpoſe in the cultivation of his farm, on account of ſome tranſitory expectation of a price; he ought to ſow his ground with the plant beſt adapted to his general views, and to the ſtate of his land: and not ſwerve from his purpoſe on the ſpeculation of any particular view; and in like manner, it will always be for the national benefit, that the lands ſhould be ſown with whatever crop is moſt ſuitable to them, and whoſe product will pay beſt, when valued in money. A populous and rich country can never want bread to eat, but from the fault of its government, attempting to regulate and encourage what can flouriſh by abſolute freedom only: the inhabitants of ſuch a country will always command wheat, becauſe they can afford to pay for it: and her own farmers will never fail of raiſing that, or any other product, in any quantity demanded, provided they are not impeded by injudicious laws and reſtrictions. In theſe principles, it is neceſſary to conſider all products as equally beneficial, provided they may be equally converted into money. The quantity of rye in every part of France, even in the richeſt provinces, is probably one of the groſſeſt

groſſeſt abſurdities in the agriculture of Europe; wheat is almoſt every where ſtained with it, to uſe the farmer's language. Yet throughout that whole kingdom, there is hardly any ſoil to be found bad enough to demand rye. All, generally ſpeaking, is ſufficiently good for wheat. In part of Sologne, near Chambord, there are ſome poor ſands, that would not anſwer well for wheat; but there being a rich marl under the whole, if improved and thrown into the turnip and clover huſbandry, it would yield more wheat than it now does rye; the ſame obſervation is applicable to the pooreſt lands of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois; after theſe, there are but very partial ſpots that would not yield wheat. In conſidering, with reſpect to the national intereſts, the proper courſes of crops for France, two circumſtances ſhould be had in remembrance, which may not at firſt be thought to bear upon the queſtion; it is the quantity of foreſt neceſſary in a country that either has not coal, or does not uſe it; and the vaſt tracks that are under vines. Theſe are ſubjects that demand notice under other heads, but here they ſhould be mentioned to ſhew, that while the quantity of arable land is thus prodigiouſly leſſened, attention to baniſh fallows, and introduce proper courſes of crops, becomes of the higheſt importance. When we reflect, that from a ſixth to a ſeventh of the kingdom is occupied by wood, and that the ſpace covered by vines is exceedingly great, at the ſame time that the waſtes are in ſome provinces of enormous extent, it will

appear

appear amazing how ſo numerous a people are fed, with a third or fourth of all their arable land encumbered, not cleaned, by barren fallows.

There are practical farmers in England, who think fallowing neceſſary; and there are no practices in the minutiæ of the farmer's buſineſs, but will in every age meet with thoſe who ſtrenuouſly ſupport and defend them. There is no period without ſome favourite ſchemes, every one of which may, under certain circumſtances, have merit; but the politician has nothing to do with ſuch queſtions; he muſt either conſider huſbandry in its great outlines, or he cannot conſider it at all; he muſt view the richeſt and beſt cultivated countries, and ſee whether all the lands in ſuch are not every year productive; he muſt enquire if ſheep and cattle in great quantities are not eſſential in a thouſand reſpects; whether manure does not depend on them; and whether corn does not depend on manure; he will aſk whether the converſion of the turnips of Norfolk, the beans of Kent, the cabbages and carrots of Flanders, the maiz of Guienne, or the lucerne of Languedoc, into fallows, would in ſuch provinces be eſteemed national improvements? He will conclude, that as ſheep and cattle cannot poſſibly abound where fallow rotations are purſued, the firſt and moſt obvious improvement is to make the fallows of a country ſupport the additional cattle and ſheep wanted in it. He will draw this concluſion in the outline, becauſe he will ſee the fact eſtabliſhed

and practiſed in the beſt cultivated countries, let their ſoil be what it may. The particular modes of applying the general principle he may not underſtand, but the leading principle is obvious to common ſenſe. The practice, however, of diſtricts, and even of individuals, ſpeaks the ſame language moſt deciſively. To compare this ſpot with that is not the buſineſs;——but that country, that farm, will be moſt improved and moſt productive upon which the greateſt quantity of cattle or ſheep is kept. This holds good of an acre, a field, a farm, a diſtrict, a province, or a kingdom. This point, of ſuch infinite and national importance, depends abſolutely on the courſes of crops. Reiterated and ſatisfactory experiment has proved, that two crops of white corn ought not to come together; inſtances may poſſibly be quoted to the contrary, but to reaſon on particular exceptions would be endleſs. If this rule be broken, it is generally at the expence of cattle and ſheep, and of dung; and whatever is purchaſed at that expence is purchaſed dearly *.

Out

* It is not from theory or reaſoning, or even from the view of the farms of others, that theſe ideas are ſuggeſted; my own farm ſupports me in the opinion. The average rental of it is pretty exactly the average rental of England; but if the kingdom in general were equally ſtocked, it would contain twenty-two millions more of ſheep than it does at preſent, near one and a half million more of cattle, two hundred thouſand fewer horſes, and between two and three millions more of people. This is a ſyſtem which may be called national and political huſbandry. There are, doubtleſs, men who

will

Out of ſuch a maxim, the right conduct riſe naturally: it ſuppoſes corn and cattle crops alternate; part of the arable, therefore, maintains cattle, and part yields corn. This will decide the nature of the crop; for cattle and ſheep muſt be ſupported in winter as well as in ſummer; the crops for each ſeaſon muſt, therefore, be proportioned to each other, and the arrangement muſt be ſuch as preſerves the land clean. It would be evidently uſeleſs to take notice of the variety of caſes that may admit variations, without militating againſt the leading principles of ſuch a deduction. Land may be ſo rich as to want neither cattle or ſheep; it may, like ſome on the Garonne, produce hemp and wheat for ever; it may be ſo near a great city, that purchaſed manure may make other courſes more eligible; certain crops may be in ſuch demand, as to make it deſirable to cultivate them by way of fallow, though not for cattle or ſheep, as coleſeed for oil, tobacco, flax, and other articles. Such exceptions, which in the nature of things muſt be numerous, are, in no reſpect, contrary to the leading principle that ought to govern throughout this inquiry. For the winter ſupport of cattle and ſheep, there are turnips, cabbages, potatoes, rape, carrots, parſnips, beans, vetches; for the ſummer ſuſtenance, cultivated

will aſk me if my crops are drilled? If I horſe-hoe very well? If my hedges are clipped? Or my ridges high or low, broad or narrow? Or, perhaps, whether my ſheep have horns, or my gates painted? It is in agriculture as it is in morals; a virtue purchaſed at the expence of a greater virtue, becomes a vice.

graſſes of all kinds, which ſhould neceſſarily be adapted to the quality of the ſoil, and to laſt in proportion to the poverty of it, and to the nature of the graſs. Hence then ſome courſes arrange themſelves that are applicable, perhaps, to all the ſoils of the world.

1, Roots, cabbage, or pulſe.
2, Corn.
3, Graſſes.
4, Corn.

And, 1, Roots, or cabbage.
2, Corn.
3, Graſſes.
4, Pulſe, or maiz, hemp, or flax.
5, Corn.

And in theſe the chief diſtinction, relative to ſoil, will be the number of years in which the graſſes are left: there are variations in particular caſes, but the number is inconſiderable. To enlarge upon and explain ſuch caſes, to ſhew in what manner they clear and improve; and to point out what the variations ought to be for adapting the general principle to particular ſoils and ſituations, would be a proper buſineſs if I were writing a treatiſe of agriculture, but would be miſplaced in the rapid view which brevity obliges me to take as a traveller. With theſe principles for our guide, we may venture to aſſert, that the generality of the courſes of crops in France, and all

of

of them on indifferent ſoils, are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the profit of individuals, and with national proſperity. When Louis XIV. beggared his people, in order to place a grandſon of France on the throne of Spain, and to acquire Flanders and Alſace, &c. he would have rendered his kingdom infinately richer, more proſperous, and more powerful, had he baniſhed the fallows from half a dozen of his provinces, or introduced turnips in ſome others; there is ſcarcely a ſtep he could have taken in ſuch an improvement of his agriculture which would not have given him more ſubjects and more wealth than any of his conquered provinces; every acre of which was purchaſed at the expence of ten of his old acres rendered waſte or unproductive; nor was one Fleming or German added to his ſubjects, but at the expence of five Frenchmen.

When the importance of attending to COURSES of CROPS is thus manifeſt and ſtriking, we ſhall know pretty well how to eſtimate the merit of the forty ſocieties of agriculture that are in France, by the ſubjects about which they buſy themſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Irrigation.

NONE of the leaſt conſequence in croſſing from Calais to La Marche.

La Ville au Brun to Baſſie.—Meet with it firſt. The quicker the water runs off, the greater the improvement. Flat lands are improved, but the ruſhes not deſtroyed. The beſt water is the coldeſt—and immediately as it iſſues from the ſpring. Seldom irrigate in winter: cut but once. It is plain the practice is but ill underſtood here.

LIMOSIN *to Limoges.*—Every ſpot of land in the mountains is watered that is poſſible; and with ſuch attention, as marks how ſenſible they are of the importance of this improvement. The water is conducted very high up the ſlopes of the hills; and, in ſeveral inſtances, I was at a loſs to conjecture from whence it was brought. But in the low flat bottom it is badly done, with lines of ruſhes along the carrier-trenches, and little attention paid to the conducting of the water away ſpeedily enough.

Uſarch.—Water with great care; in ſummer they prefer ſpring water juſt as it iſſues from the earth; but, in the beginning of the ſpring, river water.

Rou-

ROUSILLON—*Perpignan.* Great exertions in watering in the vale lands, and perfectly well underſtood. The richeſt arable, of the vale at Pia, ſells, if not watered, at 600 liv. the minatre (20l. 9s. 6d. per acre), but the watered lands at 1600 liv. (37l. 9s. 10d. per acre). Near Perpignan, a conſiderable aqueduct for it. From Perpignan to Villa Franche, great exertions. They prefer, in many places, clear water—and the nearer to the ſpring the better.

LANGUEDOC.—Through all this province it is much practiſed, and with great ſucceſs.

Gange.—Coming out of this town, I was ſurpriſed to find by far the greateſt exertion in irrigation I had yet ſeen in France; a ſolid ſtank of timber and maſonry is formed acroſs a conſiderable river between two rocky mountains, to force the water into a very fine canal, in which it is, on an average, ſix feet broad by five deep, and half a mile long; built, rather than dug, on the ſide of the mountain juſt under the road, and walled in like a ſhelf—a truly great work, equally well imagined and executed!—A wheel raiſes a portion of the water from this canal thirty feet, by its hollow periphery. An aqueduct, built that height, on two tire of arches, receives the water, and conducts it on arches built on the bridge, acroſs the river, to water the higher grounds; while the canal below carries the larger part of the water to lower fields:—an undertaking which muſt have coſt conſiderable ſums, and ſhews the prodigious value of water in ſuch a climate.

St.

St. Laurence—Lodeve.—Within a few miles of Gange, another ſimilar irrigation; the water taken from the river in the ſame manner, and lifted equally high by another wheel; this is juſt by the chateau of Madame la Marquiſe de Gange. For the whole way through theſe mountains, the exertions in watering are prodigious; there is not an inch capable of being irrigated, over which water is not thrown, conducted on the ſlopes of the mountains every where poſſible.

Beg de Rieux.—Every where watered that is practicable; and the bed of a river laid ſo dry, from its water being all taken for irrigations, that it is curious to view.

Campan.—Lands, with water at command, ſell at 600 liv. the journal (49l. 17s. 6d. per acre), of 700 cannes (about 19,600 feet), but not watered, from 300 to 400 liv

Bagnere—Bigore.—Arable vale watered, and with great ſucceſs.

GASCOIGN——*St. Vincents to Dax.*——Several ſtreams above waſtes or bad lands, and no uſe made of them.

To Tartas.—Several more.

Beauvoiſois.—Some watered meadows pretty well done, which is an extraordinary thing in this part of France.

NORMANDY—*Neufchatel.*—Practiſed for meadows, but not well.

Falaiſe.—A vale of watered meadows that produce 100 liv. per acre, 22 feet to the perch (3l. 10s.)

BRE-

BRETAGNE—*Belleisle.*—Some ſcraps attempted to be watered, the firſt I have ſeen in this province, but ill done, and the water not carried of.

ANJOU—*Toubilly.*—Irrigation abſolutely unknown in the country, though good opportunities are not wanted.

MAINE—*Beaumont.*—Fine ſtreams through all the country, but no uſe made of them.

NORMANDY—*Bernay.*—Some near the town, cut for the ſecond time, Oct. 3.

ALSACE—*Iſenheim to Befort.*—Firſt appearance in Alſace, and not well done.

BOURBONNOIS—*Moulins.*—Monſ. Martin, the gardener of the royal nurſery, who is from Languedoc, waters his garden after the manner of that province. A Perſian wheel of buckets raiſes the water from a well twelve feet, the receiver being placed ſo low as to have five or ſix of the buckets emptying at a time, and very little water is loſt; not the twentieth part, according to all appearance. A horſe turns the wheel. It raiſes 200 poinçons, each of 200 bottles, an hour. The water is conducted, by ſmall channels, to all the beds that want it.

AUVERGNE—*Riom.*—For two or three miles, a moſt noble irrigation, in a part of the rich vale of Limagne. The carrier-trenches all crouded with double rows of willows. A fine ſecond growth. Some land under corn that ſhould be graſs.

Clermont.—At Royau, the volcanic mountain ſides all watered; but it is coarſely done.

Izoire.—Much practiſed; their gardens are planted in quick ſucceſſion, by means of it: after hemp, cabbages immediately. The diſtribution of the water, in theſe gardens, is very defective; they throw it from the trenches, on to the beds with bowls, inſtead of flowing equally of itſelf. It probably ariſes from this circumſtance, that their gardens and hemp-grounds are not ſo valuable as what they call *vergers*; that is, watered meadows planted with apples, and other fruit-trees.

LANGUEDOC.—From Riom to the Rhone, acroſs Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, all lands are, for the moſt part, watered, that are capable of being ſo.

DAUPHINE—*Montelimart.*—Irrigation carried here to a conſiderable perfection. Cloſe to the town, a ſeptier, which is one half of an arpent of Paris, lets at $2\frac{1}{2}$ louis d'or, or five the arpent, 120 liv. (6l 2s. 6d. per acre). At a diſtance 60 liv. with obligation to dung every ſecond year, which is remarkable: 100 ſepterées, that receive the waſhing of the city, lets at 5000 liv. beſides 600 liv. for the winter feed of ſheep. They are cut three or four times a-year. In Dauphiné, the water of ſprings is preferred to that of rivers, except of the Rhone, which is as good. And the reaſon they aſſign is, that the former never freezes, but river water does; and conſequently improper to water with in winter. In ſummer, turbid water damages the graſs.

PRO-

PROVENCE—*Avignon.*—Irrigation is here carried on in great perfection, by means of the waters of the river Durance and the Crillon canal, made only for the purpoſes of watering. The meadows are mown thrice a-year, producing from 30 quintals of hay, at 40*ſ.* to 60*ſ.* the quintal, on each eymena of 21,600 feet (7 ton 14 cwt. per acre); at three cuts. Sell near the town ſuch meadows to 1000 liv. (76l. 10s. per acre); further from it, 800 liv. (61l. 5s. per acre). If the ſeaſon is dry, they are watered every twelve days; but in a moiſt time, once in three or four weeks. In ſome caſes, they begin with turbid water, and finiſh with what is clear to clean the crop. Never water their corn at all, but in extraordinary droughts.

Lille.—The road from Avignon hither paſſes, for ſome miles, through the dead level of the plain; the whole watered with great attention. The channels for conducting the ſtreams, appear to be traced with much ſkill, and the diſtribution is to every crop at will. There are many vines from which it is excluded; but it ſeems to be very ill management, to plant vines on land that admits watering. It certainly would not be done, if the profit on that crop were not very great. Much of this land is under clover and lucerne, watered; but the ſame, while in corn, is not watered. And the effect of irrigation is ſuch, that the clover (which is ſown among wheat in autumn) is cut once for hay the ſame year in which the wheat is reaped: thrice the following year; and then either ploughed up for corn, or left for meadow;

in which latter caſe, the chief graſs that comes is the *avena elatior*. The ſoil a white calcareous loam, till within four miles of Lille, and then a brown argillaceous earth, without ſtones three or four feet deep, apparently of great fertility, with or without water. At Lille, watered meadows ſell at 400 liv. the aymena, and are cut thrice; but they complain of a want of water, which is extraordinary, for they ſeem to have the greateſt command of it. It is raiſed into gardens by many wheels with hollow felloes turned by the ſtream, and conducted artfully into every bed.

Vaucluſe.—The ſpring at this village, which will for ever be celebrated in the annals of love and poetry, ought not to be leſs ſo in thoſe of cultivation. The waters are uſed in irrigation within three or four hundred yards of the rock from which they burſt, and with great effect.

Orgon.—In going hither from Vaucluſe, there is much irrigation. Near Cavaillon the land is, for that purpoſe, dug, and ſome even trenched. At Orgon the canal de Boiſgelin, ſo called from its patron, the Archbiſhop of Aix, is a noble work, but unfiniſhed; it paſſes here in a tunnel four hundred and forty yards through a mountain; it is twenty feet broad, and eight deep: has no water in it, as the work has ſtood ſtill for ſome years, for want of money. The mountain it cuts is of chalk and marl; a ſtoney chalk, not at all like common lime-ſtone; and a ſtony clay alſo, but calcareous, with a fine chalky marl, twenty or thirty feet deep. Paſs on the great road to Aix

for

for about a league, all richly watered, and then quit it for Salon. Croſs the above-mentioned canal, but without water in the midſt of an arid ſtoney flat, that would pay admirably for irrigation; but in the vale afterwards the canal de Boiſgelin is finiſhed; finely executed in ſtone, and quite full; and there are three others, ſo that the quantity of water here conveyed is very conſiderable.

La Crau.—By this term is to be underſtood the moſt ſingular deſart that is to be met with in France, and perhaps in Europe. It is about five leagues every way, and contains, probably, from twenty to twenty-five ſquare leagues: in twenty there are 136,780 Engliſh acres. It is compoſed entirely of ſhingle, being ſo uniform a maſs of round ſtones, ſome to the ſize of a man's head, but of all ſizes leſs, that the newly thrown up ſhingle of a ſea ſhore is hardly leſs free from ſoil. Beneath theſe ſurface ſtones is not ſo much a ſand, as a kind of cemented rubble, a ſmall mixture of loam, with fragments of ſtone. Vegetation is rare and miſerable. Some of the abſinthium and lavender, ſo low and poor, as hardly to be recognized; and two or three miſerable graſſes, with the *centaurea*, *calycitropa*, and *ſolſtitialis*, were the principal plants I could find; and I believe, on recollection, an *eryngium*. I ſearched for the *lolium perenne*, but could not diſcover a ſingle ſtalk, or any ſigns of it; I conclude, therefore, that this plant was all ſo eaten down, as not in this ſeaſon (Auguſt) to be viſible. After travelling

ſome

ſome miles on this extraordinary deſert, I aſked my guides if the reſt of it were ſimilar to what I had ſeen; and they anſwered me, that it was all alike, both in reſpect of ſoil and plants. The only uſe to which the uncultivated part is applied, is that of winter feeding an immenſe number of ſheep (to the amount of a million, as I was informed, but which I doubt), that are ſummer-fed in the Provence Alps, towards Barcelonetta and Piedmont. If any think that a million are fed here, the number of acres muſt be much larger than I have mentioned. The reaſon why I arrange this ſtony region under the title of *irrigation*, is on account of ſome very noble undertakings to water it, which deſerve more attention than any thing elſe to be met with in it. In advancing from Salon into the Crau, at about four miles, the road croſſes the canal of Boiſgelin. The old canal of Crappone, at the ſame place, is ſeen diſtributing water in various directions, for the amelioration of one of the moſt arid tracts that is to met with in the world. The canal de Crappone takes its waters from the Durance at La Roche, and carries it to the ſouthern part of it at Iſtres. This canal is forty miles long. That of Boiſgelin receives it from the ſame river at Malavort, and croſſing the other divides into three branches; one of which leads to lands in the neighbourhood of Iſtres; the ſecond, to St Saumas and Magnan, and this part of the Crau; the third is a ſmall one, that turns to the left towards Salon. In conſequence of water being thus conducted to a region where it is ſo much wanted;

wanted; ſome very capital improvements have been wrought. Some large tracts of the Crau have been broken up, and planted with vines, olives, and mulberries, and converted into corn and meadow. Corn has not ſucceeded; but the meadows I viewed, are amongſt the moſt extraordinary ſpectacles which the world can afford, in reſpect to the amazing contraſt between the ſoil in its natural, and in its watered ſtate, covered richly and luxuriantly with clover, chicory, rib graſs, and *avena elatior*. The mode in which the improvements were made, has been that of removing the ſtones for ploughing; theſe are laid in an irregular ſlovenly manner, by way of fences to the incloſures; and particularly in one part, where a new improvement has taken place near the road.—Upon the ſubject of watering this moſt ſingular diſtrict, I had converſations with ſome gentlemen at Salon, who much queſtioned whether theſe improvements had anſwered, the expences having been very great. On this point, I ſhall preſume to remark, that the great expence they put themſelves to in removing the ſtones with ſo much care, does not ſeem to me to have been judicious. If I were to attempt the cultivation of any ſuch track of ground, ſo level as this is in its natural ſtate, I would conduct water with the greateſt attention, but content myſelf with removing the largeſt ſtones only. I would ſow the proper graſs ſeeds on the ſhingle and water immediately; and aim more at converting the ſoil to good paſturage than to meadow. No ploughing, and no other

expence

expence than graſs ſeeds and irrigation would be incurred. After ſome years watering. I ſhould find the interſtices of the ſtones filled with artificial mould; and then a very little labour would convert it to meadow. In ſuch attempts undertakers are too apt to aim at complete improvements; and are diſſatisfied if they do not bring ſuch waſtes at once to the reſemblance of fields that have been long under cultivation; but to render ſuch works profitable, enormous expences ſhould be avoided; and ſomething left to time to effect, ſilently but ſurely, and without other expenditure than that of a little patience. It is at leaſt worth the experiment. I am much miſtaken if *water* and *ſeeds* would not make very valuable paſturage, without other exertions, and perhaps better than with tillage. Monſ. de la Lande ſpeaks of the Canal de Provence, which takes the waters of the Durance to Aix and Marſeilles, being 110,000 toiſes long; and of the irrigations, by its bringing in a million of livres a-year*.

Hyeres.—Never water corn, or any arable crop, except lucerne; unleſs it be in the greateſt droughts. Yet is here perfectly well underſtood, and is the great ſupport of all the low grounds and ſlopes. They uſe it with great attention and ſucceſs. They have a pretty contrivance for watering their gardens, out of a ditch ſeven or eight feet deep, never thinking of the miſerable method uſed in England of carrying and ſpreading with

* Des Canaux de Navigation. Folio. 1778. p. 175. 184.

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watering-pots: on the contrary, they fix a poſt of five or ſix feet high on the bank of the ditch, and a long pole is balanced for ſwinging every way on the top of it, with a pail at one end, and a ſtone for a balance at the other. A man, by dipping the pail, which he does inceſſantly, and emptying it into a trench cut for receiving the water, ſupplies a conſtant ſtream, which is conducted alternately to different beds, prepared in the ſame manner as for common irrigation,—a contrivance highly deſerving the attention of thoſe who have perrennial ponds near their gardens.

Obſervations.

From the foregoing notes it appears, that in ſome parts of France, particularly in the ſouthern provinces, this branch of rural œconomy is very well underſtood, and largely practiſed; but the moſt capital exertions are very much confined; I met with them only in Provence and the weſtern mountainous parts of Languedoc. In the former, canals are cut, at the expence of the province, for conducting water many miles, in order to irrigate barren tracks of land: in England we have no idea of ſuch a thing. The intereſt of commerce will induce our legiſlature to cut through private properties, but never the intereſts of cultivation. The works I obſerved at Gange, in Languedoc, for throwing the water of a mountain ſtream into a canal; and raiſing it by enormous wheels into aqueducts built on arches, being much more limi-

ted in extent, and even confined to ſingle properties, might more reaſonably be looked for in the mountainous diſtricts of England and Wales. Such would anſwer greatly, and therefore ought to be undertaken; for I hardly need obſerve, that watering in our northerly climate anſwers upon moſt ſoils, as well as it does in the S. of Europe. The difference in value between cultivation, watered or not watered, is not greater there than here, except on arid and abſolutely barren lands, on which the difference ariſing from climate is certainly enormous. Under a hot ſun and in a dry climate like that of Provence, ſandy or ſtony tracks, ſuch as La Crau, yield, comparatively ſpeaking, nothing; but watered, they become clothed with the richeſt verdure, and yield the fineſt crops. In regarding, therefore, the latitude of a country as an index for aſcertaining the degree of improvement effected by irrigation, theory would deceive us greatly. Water gives many other things beſides humidity; it manures, conſolidates, deepens the ſtaple or ſurface mould, and guards againſt cold; effects as obvious in a northern as in a ſouthern climate. If I hold up the example of the ſouthern provinces of England to copy, the French will not contend that they do not want it in their northern diſtricts. In travelling from Calais to the Pyrenees, I met with this practice firſt in La Marche, between La Ville au Brun and Baſſie, having paſſed conſiderably more than half the kingdom; thence it holds, with little interruption, to the Pyrenees, and the whole

diſtrict

diſtrict of thoſe mountains from Perpignan, where the practice is in great perfection, as it is through the chief part of Rouſſillon; almoſt to Bayonne all is watered; but ſtrange to ſay, it is unknown (at leaſt I ſaw no traces of it) in that part of Gaſcoign near St. Vincents, Dax, Tartas, and to Auch. Through all the North of France, comprehending every thing N. of the Loire, I no where found it, excepting only a few traces imperfectly executed, at Neufchatel, Bernay, and Falaiſe, in Normandy, and at Izoire, in the Beauvoſois, but to ſo inconſiderable an amount, that they do not merit attention in a general view of the kingdom. The duc de Liancourt, always attentive to every thing that promiſes public utility, has made a noble experiment at Liancourt, to introduce this practice into the Clermontois, where it is ſo greatly wanted, that many conſiderable vales are hardly better than bogs, which, watered, would be the richeſt meadows; his firſt cutting was ſixty-five tons on eight arpents. France owes much to the enlarged views of that active, patriotic, and enlightened citizen. Through Picardy, Flanders, Artois, Champaigne, Loraine, Alſace, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and the Bourbonnois, I will not aſſert that the practice is unknown; I have noted ſomething of it in Alſace; but generally ſpeaking, it may be underſtood, that theſe provinces are not watered. In travelling much above a thouſand miles through them, I ſaw nothing that merits a moment's attention upon this head; but I viewed and even examined many

hundred ſtreams, in various parts of them, affording numerous opportunities of irrigation, without being uſed for this purpoſe. It is at Riom, in Auvergne, before this practice is met with effect. Hardly more, therefore, than one-third of the kingdom can be ſaid to underſtand this moſt obvious and important object, one of the firſt in the circle of rural œconomies. If academies and ſocieties of agricultue are amenable to the judicature of common ſenſe, what are we to think of their employing their time, attention, and revenues on drill-ploughs and horſe-hoes——on tinctures from roots——and thread from nettles——while two-thirds of ſuch a territory as that of France remain ignorant of irrigation?

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Meadows.

IN a country, the greater part of which is open, and much the greater part very ill cultivated, meadow muſt neceſſarily bear a price much beyond the proportion of other countries differently ſituated. I hardly know a ſurer proof of the backward ſtate of a country, than that of meadows bearing an exorbitant price. When chalk hills become covered, as they ought to be, with ſainfoin, the price of meadows ſinks half. When the arable lands yield neither cabbage, turnip, nor potatoe for the winter nouriſhment of cattle, hay is the only dependence. When the value of clover is little known, meadow muſt be rated at too high a value. Theſe ſimple inſtances ſhew at once the connection, and the cauſe. It follows, that the price and rental will vary, not according to the intrinſic value, but the circumſtances of the arable diſtricts in its neighbourhood. The price in France is every where conſiderable, and in ſome places exceedingly great; ſuggeſting no flattering ideas of the general huſbandry of the kingdom. The produce of hay is in ſome caſes large, but, on the

the whole, does not anſwer the price; ariſing, doubtleſs, in ſome meaſure, from the lands being fed at ſeaſons when food is ſcarce and valuable, and thereby leſſening the quantity of hay.

In the general management of meadow ground, the firſt feature is irrigation, on which this is not the place to enlarge. It is ſufficient to remark here, that hardly more than one-third of the meadows of the kingdom is ſo improved. Draining, ſmoothing the ſurface, by keeping it free from all mole and ant hills, rolling, weeding, &c. are performed very inſufficiently, every where, except in watered diſtricts: draining is almoſt univerſally neglected. Immenſe tracks, in all the provinces of the kingdom, and on almoſt all the principal rivers, are *commons*; conſequntly curſed with rights abſolutely ſubverſive of all ideas of good huſbandry.

From the minutes I took of the uſeful plants moſt frequent in the meadows of France quite to the Pyrenees, it appears, that they are exactly the ſame as we find in the beſt meadows of Great Britain. The pricipal are, 1, *lathyrus pratenſis*, which I take to be the firſt plant for meadows that is to be found in either of the kingdoms, and meriting an attention which it has been very far from receiving; 2, *achillæa millefolium*, an admirable plant, equally neglected with the former; 3, *trifolium pratenſe*, the common clover, a biennial plant, but found abundantly in moſt meadows; 4, *trifolium repens*, the white Dutch clover, not valued by ſome very good farmers; but its being found largely

largely in the beſt meadows of Europe, ſhould make ſuch an idea very doubtful; 5, *plantago lanceolata*, rib graſs; 6, *medicago lupulina*, trefoil, indigenous over the whole kingdom, as it is alſo in England; 7, *medicago arabica polymorpha*; 8, *lotus corniculata*; 9, *poterium ſanguiſorba*, burnet, excellent in ſituations and ſoils directly the reverſe of each other; on barren ſands for ſheep-walk, and it is found largely in the fineſt meadows. To theſe we may add another plant, found amply in the richeſt meadows over the ſouth of Europe, and indigenous in England on poor ſands, the *chicorium intybus*, equal, perhaps ſuperior to all the reſt, except the *lathyrus pratenſis*, the culture of which is different.

I ſay nothing of graſſes, from the extreme uncertainty, as well as difficulty, of getting ſeed clean. If the nurſery that affords it be kept without alternate tillage, many ſorts bad, as well as good, are found in it; and for alternate tillage, in courſes of crops, it muſt be diſcovered, that they improve and prepare for corn like clover, &c. Ray graſs, in England, has been cultivated under that great deficiency for a peculiar purpoſe, the early ſpring feed of ſheep. If the ſeed of the *feſtuca pratenſis*, *poa trivialis*, the *poa pratenſis*, the *alopecurus pratenſis*, and a few others, could at all times be procured at a reaſonable price, they ought to be objects of more attention.

When the plants are well known that fill the beſt meadows of a country, the moſt important knowledge is gained for forming new ones; ſuch

ſuch of theſe plants as yield ſeed ſo plentifully as to enable ſeedſman to deal in them, ſhould be ſown, and never the chance-medley of hay chambers, a practice pretty well exploded in England, but in France ſuch queſtions are novel.

CHAP. VIII.

Lucerne.

PICARDY—*Bologne.*—LASTS twelve to ſixteen years; three cuts, very fine and thick; ſixteen pounds of ſeed per meaſure, about an acre; four or five horſes kept for five months.

Breteuil.—Value it more than corn; three cuts; in ſpots four feet high; laſts ten years; firſt cut for horſes, the reſt for cows.

ISLE OF FRANCE——*Arpajon.*—Much; three cuts.

ROUSSILLON——*Bellegarde.*—Watering ſhortens its duration; give it water every eight days, when there is no rain.

Perpignan.——Watered lucerne in all the bottoms.

Pia.—By far the richer crop, and moſt profitable culture; it is ſown largely on two ſorts of land, the

the dry ſtony poor ſoils that are watered, and alſo on the rich deep friable loam in the vale between Pia and the calcareous northern mountains, which are not watered; in all caſes it is ſown broad caſt and without corn. It is cut, for the firſt time, the end of April; and if watered every forty days afterwards, to the amount of five cuts in all; if the land be not watered it is cut thrice with a full product; and a fourth time with an inferior one. If watered it does not laſt above ſeven or eight years, but in other land twenty and even thirty years; the hay is preferred to all others; a minatre is worth ſix louis at four cuts (5l. 9s. 4d. per acre); I walked over many fields of it, and found the crops beautifully clean and luxuriant, of a complexion and product very different from what is ever ſeen in England, but not equal to that of Barcelona in height by a third. Perpignan to Villa Franche, take three crops of wheat after lucerne.

Sijean.——Yields two cuttings in dry years, and four in wet ones; laſts ten years.

LANGUEDOC——*Cauſſan.*—Fine; under mulberries; from thirty-ſix ſeſterées get an hundred ſeptiers of ſeed; the ſeſterée is ſown with 100 lb. of wheat; the price laſt year was 50 liv. the ſeptier. Vale land under lucerne lets ſometimes at 40 liv. to 72 liv. the ſeſterée; corn land only 15 liv.

Pezenas.—Lucerne every where; laſts ten or twelve years; is excellent for every thing except ſheep, for which animal it is too fattening.

Pinjan.—Sow 15 lb. the feſterée; always alone; cut five times a year, and laſts fifteen years, yielding 1200 lb. dry hay each cutting: and the ſeed of a feſterée has yielded 100 liv.; the preſent price of the ſeed is 45 liv. the quintal, and of the forage 40*ſ.* When it is weedy they clean it by ploughing in the winter with a narrow pointed ſhare, chuſing froſty weather, which kills the weeds, but not the lucerne; an admirable practice, and apparently the origin of Rocque's harrowing, if it extend into Provence, his country. When it is worn out, their conduct is no leſs excellent: greatly as it improves the land, they do not venture to ſow wheat, but barley and oats for hay, not corn, for two years in ſucceſſion; a great deal of lucerne, puſhing from the old roots, would conſiderably injure any corn, but add equally to the value of a crop of forage, as they call it; and the mowing early cuts off abundance of weeds; after theſe two crops they ſow wheat, which proves very fine.

Lunel.—Much lucerne, but not fine, for the ſoil is inferior.

Carcaſſone.—Cut it four to ſix times, according to rain; laſts 10 to 14 years.

GASCOIGN—*St. Vincent.*—Cut in good years thrice, in bad ones twice; much over-run with couch.

Fleuran.—A few ſmall pieces uſed for ſoiling horſes.

Eſtafort.—Cut four times for ſoiling horſes, and it is the beſt food of all for them.

Landron.

Landron.—See a ſmall piece of lucerne, but no other in the rich vale of the Garonne.

Poitou—*Poitiers.*—Laſts fifteen years; uſe it both for ſoiling and hay, which is better than that of ſainfoin.

Touraine—*Chanteloup.*—The duc de Choiſeul's cows always tied up the year round; in ſummer ſoiled on lucerne, which gave cream and butter of the very fineſt flavour.

Blois.—Pieces of it on a poor and almoſt blowing ſand; laſts five years; cut it thrice; and the produce more valuable than corn.

Orleans.—Laſts eight or nine years, and is cut thrice.

Petiviers.—Laſts twelve or fifteen years.

Melun.—Much here; laſts ten years; it is cut thrice, and the produce more valuable than wheat.

Yerſaint.—Cut thrice; the firſt yields 400 bottes of hay; the ſecond 200; the third 100; in all 700 (about 4 tons per acre), and the ſelling price 20 liv. the 100: or 140 the arpent. The fineſt of all their corn crops are thoſe which ſucceed it.

To Montgeron.—It is the beſt feature of their huſbandry. Sow 22 lb. of ſeed per arpent, with oats. It laſts twelve years. The price, at preſent, 20 liv. the 100 bottes. When they break it up, they ſow oats, and then wheat, getting by far the fineſt crops they ever experience.

Liancourt.—Cultivated in conſiderable quantities. Sow 30 lb. of ſeed per arpent, at the ave-

rage price of 20 to 24*ſ.* the pound. Monſ. Prevoſt, a very intelligent and underſtanding farmer in the vale of Catnoir, has remarked a great difference between the ſeed of Provence, &c. which is commonly ſold in the north of France, and their own. The former rarely ſucceeds ſo well as their own, which he attributes to the great difference of the climate: with their own ſeed they never fail.—The general cuſtom is to ſow it with oats. It laſts, with tolerable management, ten or twelve years; but on a rich deep ſoil, on a dry bottom, it has been known to reach the duration of twenty years. To deſtroy the weeds which ariſe in it, they harrow it partially with iron toothed harrows, and manure it with rotten dung. It is always cut three times a year, and ſometimes four; but that is not common: a very good arpent would let at 150 liv. a-year, which is more than any other production in the country. The fineſt of all may give 1600 bottes of hay, each of 12lb. or 19200lb. which is above ſeven tons the Engliſh acre. In general, the crop may be reckoned at 500 bottes, at two cuts on a mine, or 1000 the arpent, which is 12,000 lb. or better than five tons per Engliſh acre. The price of it does not equal that of good common hay; nor is it reckoned ſo good for horſes. At preſent, it is not worth more than 20 liv. the 100 bottes: they ſave ſeed of the third growth, and reckon 200 lb. per arpent a middling crop. Seeding does not deſtroy it: on good land it is juſt as good after; but ſometimes on poor land it is injured. A vaſt object in the

culture

culture is the great improvement it works in the land; when they plough it up, they do not venture to have wheat, as the luxuriance would be ſuch that the product would be all ſtraw. They take two, three, four, and even five crops of oats in ſucceſſion, which are prodigiouſly great; and when the oats decline, they ſow wheat, and get a very fine crop!

Marenne.—Laſts twelve to fifteen years; cut thrice; when ploughed up, ſow two crops of oats, and then wheat, all ſure to be excellent.

Pontoiſe.—Near the town half the land is under it.

Braſſeuſe.—Commonly ſown with oats that ſucceed wheat, and often upon one ploughing only; yet ſuch is the happy texture of the ſoil, a fine friable ſandy loam, that it ſucceeds tolerably well, and would, with better huſbandry, yield an immenſe advantage; it laſts ten or twelve years, and longer when taken care of. They cut it thrice a year. It yields, at the two firſt cuttings, 300 or 400 bottes per arpent of hay fit for horſes, and the third is for cows. Madame la viſcounteſſe du Pont, ſiſter of the ducheſs de Liancourt, has poſſibly more lucerne than any other perſon in Europe. She has 250 arpents, 80 of which were mowed this year. I ſaw the hay, and never met with better or ſweeter, yet botted from the field in the method univerſal in France. She was ſo good as to inform me, that no food for cows yielded finer butter; I taſted it, and none could be better flavoured.

Dammartin.

Dammartin.—Much; laſts nine years; cut thrice, unleſs for ſeed, in which caſe, twice only. The firſt cutting yields 400 or 500 bottes; the ſecond half as much. The archbiſhop of Aix, who has an abbey in the neighbourhood, has taken great pains to ſpread the culture, and has occaſioned near 800 arpents being ſown.

Soiſſons.—Laſts eight or nine years; cut thrice; yields at the firſt 300 bottes of hay, of 12 lb.; at the ſecond 250; and the third 100 per arpent, of 96 perches, of 22 feet, 46,464 feet (3 tons 3 cwt.)

ARTOIS—*Recouſſe.*—They have ſome; cut thrice; laſts twelve to fifteen years, and reckoned excellent.

NORMANDY—*Coutances.*—In the way to Granville many patches, the firſt I had ſeen in Normandy, and they increaſe to pieces of ſome conſequence; laſts twenty years, and is conſtantly cut thrice.

La Roche Guyon.—Much cultivated; the ducheſs d'Anville has fifty arpents, and a farmer in the neighbourhood forty-ſeven; and I ſaw ſome good pieces in going to Magny; it is cut thrice, but does not laſt more than ſix years; ſow it with oats; when broken up, they take three crops of corn in ſucceſſion; in the open fields every body turns into it the 1ſt of November.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Nangis.*—Seed 20 lb. an arpent de Paris, at 12 to 20*ſ.* the pound (26 lb. the acre); ſow it with barley or oats that follow wheat; laſts ſix years, if manured eight; a good

arpent

arpent yields three hundred bottes the firſt cut (1 ton 14 cwt. per acre), two hundred the ſecond (1 ton 3 cwt.), one hundred the third (11½ cwt.) each of 10 lb. (in all 3 tons 8½ cwt.); ſome ſown alone on a clean fallow in Auguſt, and this is by far the beſt; the hay 20 to 30 liv. the hundred bottes (2l. 3s. 8d. a ton); if let it is at 40 liv. (2l. 2s. per acre); when they break it up, two crops of oats, and then one of wheat, and all good.

Meaux.——When oats have two leaves, they harrow in the lucerne ſeed 20 lb. per arpent (100 perches 22 feet) (17 lb. per acre); the price per lb. 4 to 10*ſ.* uſually 6*ſ.*; the firſt year it produces, the firſt cut, but one hundred bottes per arpent, afterwards four hundred (2 ton 2 cwt. per acre), ſome five hundred, each of 12 to 16 lb.; the ſecond cut two hundred (1 ton 1 cwt. per acre, the third one hundred (10½ cwt. per acre), in all 3 tons 13½ cwt.; the hay of the firſt cut is given to horſes, the ſecond to ſheep, and the third to cows; it is never manured; but the ſoil is a deep rich loam, that is to be ranked among the fineſt in the world; couch is the greateſt enemy to it; they never uſe it in ſoiling, but always for hay; for mowing, making, cocking, and carting, 10 liv. the arpent; all is botted in the field. They are now (July 3,) mowing the firſt growth, but ſome has been cut ſome time; nothing they ſay, improves land ſo much; all the good oats that Mr. Gibert ſhewed me, at Neufmoutier, were after lucerne; the difference between thoſe, and the

other

other crops after wheat, being that of yellow and green.

DAUPHINE—*L'Oriol.*—Prepare for it with the ſpade, at the expence of 12 liv. the ſepterée; dung well; laſts five years; after that time, if they would preſerve it, they plough it acroſs with a little plough, called a *binet*, to deſtroy the graſs, and then it ſucceeds for two years more. When they break it up, they take five crops of wheat in ſucceſſion. I expreſſed my amazement at this execrable management; and Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond atteſted the truth of the fact. If wild oats come the third year, they ſow oats or rye inſtead of wheat, on that account.

PROVENCE——*Avignon.*——Much; it is uſually ſown alone in March, 5 lb. of ſeed per eymena of 21,600 feet (10 lb. per acre); cut four, five, or ſix times, and laſts ſeven or eight years if much watered, ten or twelve if leſs; they then plough it, and find the amelioration ſo great, that they take five, ſix, ſeven, and even eight crops of wheat in ſucceſſion! But, bad as ſuch management may be, it is not, however, to be claſſed with a ſimilar rotation among us, for water works miracles; and the wheat harveſt is ſo early, that it affords time for what they pleaſe. Lucerne ſuits light rich land beſt; the produce at every cutting twenty-five quintals (3 tons 3 cwt. per acre); but for this it muſt be dunged as well as watered, which muſt be done in winter, after the froſts are gone; if no dung fifteen quintals (1. ton 5 cwt. per acre); the price 40 to 50*ſ.* the quintal, being 10*ſ.* below

meadow

meadow hay. They reckon the hay bad for horſes, blowing them up too much; but excellent for all other animals; I ſaw ſome of it at Avignon ſo beautifully green, that I felt it to aſcertain if it were really hay, and not, as my eyes told me, freſh cut; it is ſometimes let, and rents from 20 to 60 liv. the eymena (60 liv. is 4l. 12s. 9d. per acre); at five cuttings the produce per acre in money is 21l. 13s. 2d.

Hyeres.——I viewed a new plantation making by Monſ. Battaile; the piece contained one and a half acre Engliſh, and he was working it at the following expence:——Firſt digging, 96 liv.—Burning roots, weeds, clods, &c. 96 liv.—Dunging, 120 liv.——Second digging, 96 liv.—Seed, 60 liv.——Total, 468 liv. or 13l. 13s. per acre. It was left quite ſmooth and fine to the depth of a foot, free from every ſort of root weed, and laid in beds ready for watering, and now (September) ſowing; next year he will cut it four times, afterwards five, and perhaps ſix; it will laſt fifteen years, and poſſibly twenty; could let it at 400 liv. a year (11l. 13s. 7d. per acre), and the produce groſs 500 liv. (14l. 11s. 11d.) per acre); and when broken up it will give great crops of wheat.

Obſervations.

The culture of the plant under our conſideration, is one of the principal features of French huſbandry. We have gone to the French ſchool

for the culture of it, yet it is ill managed, and with bad ſucceſs in England, and has been ſo in every period; but in France, even in climates ſimilar to our own, it is an object of almoſt uniform profit; and it muſt therefore be unfortunate indeed, if we do not extract ſomething from the French practice deſerving our attention, and imitation. The firſt leading circumſtance that demands our attention is the unvarying practice of ſowing it broadcaſt. The lucerne in Spain, which is of a luxuriance we have no conception of, and the little I have ſeen in Italy, is all ſown in the ſame way: a contrary practice, namely, that of drilling has very generally taken place in England; it has been repeatedly urged, that the humidity of our climate renders hoing neceſſary to keep it free from the ſpontaneous graſſes; and, if hoeing is neceſſary, drilling is certainly ſo. But this neceſſity is not found to take place in the north of France, the climate of which very nearly reſembles our own. After ſome years, thoſe graſſes deſtroy it there as well as here; but the French think it much more profitable when that happens to plough it up, than to inſure a longer poſſeſſion by perpetual expenſe and attention.

A Frenchman from Provence (Rocque), introduced this broadcaſt culture of lucerne, about twenty-five years ago, into England: I ſaw his crops, which were very fine, and equal to any in the north of France. Mr. Arbuthnot, of Mitcham, had it alſo in the ſame method on a large ſcale, and with conſiderable ſucceſs; other perſons have

have ſucceeded equally well, whoſe experiments may be found in the regiſters of agricultural tours through England; the method, however, has not been generally purſued; and the little lucerne to be found in England is chiefly in drills. It certainly deſerves inquiry, whether this is not the reaſon of cultivation at large not having made a greater progreſs with us. The introduction of hoes and horſe-hoes among crops that are cleared but once a year from the land, and with no neceſſity of mowing them cloſe to the ground, appears to be much eaſier, and more practicable, than hoing and horſe-hoing a meadow cut and cleared thrice in a year; and which muſt of neceſſity be mown quite cloſely. The preceding minutes ſeem to allow the concluſion, that the drill is not neceſſary for this culture; the broadcaſt ſucceeds well in every part of France, in proportion to the goodneſs of the ſoil and to management, like every other crop.

I wiſh not to make this a didactic work, or I could offer hints that might be of advantage poſſibly to the culture in England; I ſhould apprehend, that a turnip or cabbage fallow is the right preparation; if the field be foul for two years in ſucceſſion, fed on the land, ſown with barley or oats, three-fourths the common quantity of ſeed, ſay two buſhels; ſhould weeds appear the firſt year, I would beſtow 10s. per acre in drawing, weeding, or otherwiſe extirpating them; and after that the lucerne ſhould take its chance. Explanations are endleſs; a hint is ſufficient for the practical huſ-

huſbandman, without prejudices: I would never manure till the crop was two years old.—Its ameliorating effect is a ſingular feature in the preceding notes; the accounts are ſuch as will ſurprize ſome perſons; but where huſbandry is not very well underſtood, effects ſo remarkable muſt be eſtimated with caution; and it may, without danger of deception, be admitted, that a material reaſon for this apparently exaggerated merit is, that fallows are the common preparation for wheat. If the French were well acquainted with the culture of clover as a preparation for wheat, nothing very marvellous would be found in lucerne. The intelligence at Pinjan indicates, in this reſpect, a conduct that is truly excellent; taking a tillage crop of fodder, winter tares for inſtance, on the firſt breaking up, is a practice that merits the greateſt commendation.

CHAP. IX.

Sainfoin.

THE brevity to which I am obliged to reduce my work, does not allow the inſertion of my notes on this graſs. To a perſon who conſidered them careleſsly, they would probably appear to be the regiſter of ſome plant quite unknown in England, for it would be difficult to believe that ſainfoin could be managed as it is actually in France. With us, this graſs laſts generally from twelve to fifteen years; in France three, four, or five, and not often ſix years. I viewed much in many parts of that kingdom, and though it was not equal to our crops, yet I could not remark any appearance that ſeemed to ſhew a neceſſity of breaking it up ſo ſoon. This very extraordinary circumſtance I attribute to the ſhortneſs of leaſes, to the bad arrangement of farms, and to the importance of cattle being ſcarcely any where underſtood. Leaſes are generally for nine years; and a tenantry fixed in confidence upon eſtates is rarely found; under theſe circumſtances, one might naturally ſuppoſe, that a crop which laſts longer than the whole duration of the leaſe, and is known at the ſame time to prepare the land for corn, would not be cultivated at all; as he who ſowed

would

would have no certainty of reaping the harveſt. The concluſion appears natural; but there is at the ſame time an objection to which it raiſes a difficulty. I found preciſely the ſame culture and the ſame conviction of its propriety among gentlemen who farm their own lands, as well as amongſt the tenantry around them. So far as it reſpects thoſe who do not occupy their lands, by means of *metayers*, at half or third produce, the objection has ſome force; but very little as to thoſe whoſe practice is different. Under the proper head it is ſhewn, that no improvements or new practices can be introduced under the ſpecies of occupation above-mentioned, without too great a hazard or much injuſtice. But where a proprietor fairly occupies his land, without the intervention of a *metayer*, he can have no inducement of this nature to act abſurdly. Either therefore the common practice influences the idea, and occaſions an imitation, without inquiry or experiment, or there are other reaſons for this conduct. When corn is the only capital object of a farmer, and through ignorance in his profeſſion he thinks there is no better view than to ſow as much as poſſible, regardleſs of every other circumſtance he may be ſuppoſed to be in haſte to break up ſainfoin before the proper time; he is eager to get thoſe three or four crops of wheat, which the barbarous practices of his country have permitted him to expect. And on ſimilar principles, a farmer who has no juſt attention to cattle, and knows nothing of the art of making them productive of corn, by a well ordered

ordered arrangement of his fields, will feel no compunction at ſetting a plough to work in a ſainfoin field, at the very moment it is coming to perfection. Theſe remarks are chiefly applicable to crops that are apparently good; and, from their appearance, promiſe to laſt much longer than the farmer has an inclination to permit them: but for others, which ſeem worn out or choaked with graſs and weeds, another obſervation is neceſſary. There is not in any part of France, where I have been, the leaſt idea of making land perfectly clean and free from weeds, *as a preparation for graſs*; whatever attention of this ſort is any where met with, is all exerted in fallowing for wheat. Sainfoin is uſually ſown with a ſecond or third crop of corn; and in ſome places the farmers do not think of this graſs till their land is ſo full of weeds and ſo exhauſted, that it will produce corn no longer. In ſuch caſes I do not ſo much wonder at ſainfoin laſting only four or five years, as that it ſhould be produced at all, or that enough of it ſhould be found on the land to aſcertain what the crop is. The different circumſtances which may be ſuppoſed to occaſion the management I ſpeak of, it is not very material to diſcriminate. It is ſufficient to remark, that there can hardly be produced, in the range of huſbandry, a proof more deciſive of that art being in its infancy in France. On poor, chalky, ſtoney ſoils, very indifferently adapted to corn, to be eager to plough up ſainfoin, before it is worn out, or to lay it down in ſuch a ſlovenly manner, as to ſhorten its proper duration

two-

two-thirds, is a conduct that cannot be too severely condemned. I was repeatedly assured, that no management would make it last longer in France. To refute such assertions, by shewing their absurdity, would take up more room and time than such questions are worth. The French cannot at present understand how much every sort of the cultivated grasses depends on a judicious course of crops; nor do they comprehend how such plants depend as much on turnips (or on some other plant whose culture may answer the same end) as upon any preparation immediately to be given. Clean fallows in a kingdom, where agriculture is ill understood, will always be sown with bread corn; but if covered with plants that are not removed or consumed time enough for wheat or rye, and consequently barley or oats to be sown, the land may be laid down in good order, *provided the farmer will give up a second crop.* To those who sow these grasses with rye on fallow, this observation is not equally applicable; their common husbandry offers the same opportunity, if they will forbear the second and third corn crops. In some provinces, particularly in the Bourbonnois and Nevernois, on dry sound gravels, some of which are on a hard bottom, the course is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and the country is not open. Here, one would think, grasses, and particularly sainfoin, might very easily be introduced, as the farmers would have a crop in lieu of a fallow the third year; but such is the perverseness of French agriculture, that no grasses are there cultivated. In many

many converſations I have had in France, on the ſubject of graſſes, a favourite topic in that kingdom, I have always told them they muſt begin with turnips; the connection with which they could not underſtand. It is, however, a fact, that this culture no where thrives without the fallow being a crop that yields green winter food for cattle; ſuch as turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes, &c. &c. This is not the place for enlarging on ſuch a point; in the chapter of courſes of crops it is ſhewn, that the cultivation of graſſes, without that of green winter crops, is but a poor ſyſtem, and hardly worth attention. It appears from the notes, that ſainfoin is no where well managed, or on the ſcale in which it ought to be found, but that it is cultivated through a great extent of country; in ſome provinces, however, ſuch as the vaſt one of Bretagne, and ſome others, I met with none. There is nothing in the notes ſo remarkable as the ameliorating quality in preparing for corn, univerſally attributed to it in every part of the kingdom.—Wherever the compariſon is made, wheat is better after it than after fallow; yet ſainfoin is ſown without any attention to the cleanneſs of the land. This ſurely merits notice, and ſeems to prove ſtrongly how futile a preparation the expenſive one of a fallow is; and it ought to be received, as a leſſon of the firſt conſequence, not for the French only, but for ourſelves and every other people, that a *lay* is a much better preparation for corn than a fallow: and farther, that there is no improve-

ment of land apparently ſo cheap or ſo ſure as a ceſſation of tillage by laying to graſs. Theſe concluſions ariſe from an uniform concurrence of facts obſervable throughout the kingdom. The general managment of ſuch crops in France is indeed too bad for Engliſhmen to learn from them; but there is no country, from which we may not glean ſomething; nor any people, whoſe rules and experience, when properly combined with what we already poſſeſs, may not prove a valuable addition to the common ſtock of knowledge. It would be eaſy, and even pleaſant, to enlarge on ſuch topics—but I am regiſtering the reſult of travels, and not compoſing diſſertations on theſe ſubjects.

CHAP. X.

Vines.

THE number of notes I took in moſt of the provinces of the kingdom, relative to the culture of vineyards, was not inconſiderable; but the difficulty of reducing the infinite variety of French meaſures of land and liquids, to a common ſtandard, added to an unavoidable uncertainty in the infor-

information itſelf, renders this the moſt perplexing inquiry that can be conceived. It was an object to aſcertain the value given to the ſoil by this culture; the amount of the annual produce, and the degree of profit attending it: inquiries not undeſerving the attention even of politicians, as the chief intereſts of a country depend, in ſome meaſure, on ſuch points being well underſtood. Now there is ſcarcely any product ſo variable as that of wine. Corn lands and meadow have their bad and their good years; but they always yield ſomething—and the average produce is rarely far removed from that of any particular year. With vines, the difference is enormous; this year they yield nothing. In another, perhaps, caſks are wanted to contain the exuberant produce of the vintage: now the price is extravagantly high; and again ſo low, as to menace with poverty all who are concerned in it. Under ſuch variations, the ideas even of proprietors, who live by the culture, are not often correct, in relation to the *medium* of any circumſtance: nor is it always eaſy to bring individuals to regard rather the average of a diſtrict, than the particular one of their own fields. In many caſes it is more ſatisfactory to rely on particular experience, when it appears tolerably exact, than to demand ideas, ſo often vague of what is not immediately within the practice of the man who ſpeaks. Theſe difficulties have occurred ſo often, and in ſo many ſhapes, that the reader can hardly imagine the labour which it repeatedly coſt me to gain that approximation

tion to accuracy, which I was fortunate enough ſometimes to attain. But, after all the inquiries I have made, with attention and induſtry, I do not preſume to inſert here an abſtract of my notes as intelligence that can be *entirely* relied on: I am ſatisfied, that it is impoſſible to procure ſuch, without application, time, and exertions, which are not at the command of many travellers. Contenting myſelf, therefore, with the probability of being free from groſs errors, and with the hope of giving ſome information on the ſubject, not to be found in other books, I venture to ſubmit the following extract to the public eye, though it be a reſult inadequate to the labour, variety, and expected ſucceſs of my inquiries. It is neceſſary farther to premiſe, that the reader muſt not contraſt the circumſtance of one place with thoſe of another, under the idea that a conſiderable difference is any proof of error in the account. The price of an arpent is ſometimes out of proportion to the produce, and the profit at other times unaccounted for by either:—this depends on demand, competition, the diviſion of properties, the higher or lower ratio of expence, and on various other circumſtances, which, to explain fully in each article, would be to enlarge this ſingle chapter into a volume; I touch on it here, merely to guard againſt concluſions, which are to be made with caution. The towns named in the following table, are the places where I procured intelligence.—None are inſerted in which I did not make enquiry, as I was at every place mentioned in the margin.

margin. The rents of vines are named at but few places; for they are very rarely in any other hands than thoſe of the proprietor; even where rent is named, there is not one acre in an hundred let. The price of the product is every where that of the ſame autumn as the vintage: thoſe who can afford to keep their wine have much greater profits: but as that is a ſpecies of merchandize as much in the power of a dealer as of a planter, it ought not to be the guide in ſuch accounts as theſe*.

At Epernay, &c. in Champagne, two-thirds of all the country around, about Aye, Cumiere Piery, Diſy, Hautvilliers, &c. under vines: and here all the famous Champagne wines are made. The country producing the fine white wine, is all contained in five leagues length; and three or four more for Aviſe, Aungé, Lumenée, Grammont, &c. where they make the white wine with white grapes only. At Aye, Pye, Piery, and Epernay, the white wine is all made with black grapes. La Montagne de Rheims, Bouzé, Verſeé, Verzenée, Teaſe, Airy, and Cumiere, for the *bon rouge de la Marne*. At Airy, the firſt quality of the white

* I have permitted the above introduction to my notes to remain, though I have not inſerted them; for it would be idle to attempt concealing the number of paſſages where I have contracted theſe papers. Thoſe numerous minutes which I made in all the wine provinces of France, the brevity to which I have condemned myſelf obliges me to inſert but one, as a ſpecimen of the intelligence I procured; and then to proceed to a few general obſervations on the culture.

alſo

alſo made. With the black grape, they make either red or white wine; but with the white, only white wine. The price of the land is very high; at Piery 2000 liv.; at Aye 3000 to 6000 liv.; at Hautvilliers 4000 liv. The worſt in the country ſell at 800 liv. (3000 liv. is 105l. 9s. per acre, 6000 liv. 210l. 18s.)—The produce, as may be ſuppoſed, varies much: at Aye two to ſix pieces, and four the average. At Reuil and Vanteuil to 20 pieces. At O Vilet, a convent of Benedictines, near Epernay, eighty arpents that yield two to four. And the price varies equally; at Aye, the average is two at 200 liv.; one at 150 liv.; and one at 50 liv.—By another account 200 to 800 liv. the queu of two pieces. Average 400 liv. the queu,—At Reuil and Vanteuil, it is 60 to 100 liv. The vines of Vilet, 700 liv. to 900 liv. the queu. Red wine is 150 liv. to 300 liv.

Account of a conſiderable Vineyard, an average one, given me at Epernay.

	liv.	£. s. d.	
For an Arpent.—Intereſt of purchaſe 3000 liv.	150	6 11 3½	E. Acre.
Labour, - - -	55	2 8 1½	
Renewal, *(provins)* ditto, -	24	1 1 0	
Tying, - - -	8	0 7 0	
Props - - - - -	30	1 6 3	
Manure, one part dung to 14 earth, -	20	0 17. 6	
Vintage, 12 liv. a-piece,	48	2 2 0	
Caſks, - - -	15	0 13 1½	
Taxes—taille, vingtieme, and capitation, - -	9	0 7 10½	
Aides, 15. the queu -	30	1 6 3	
Cellar, vaults, preſs, reſervoirs tubs, &c. and building to hold them, 8000 liv. for 20 arpents, or 400 liv. per arpent, the intereſt. -	20	0 17 6	
	409	17 17 10½	

Product

Product.

		liv.	£. s. d.	
An Arpent.—Two pieces, at 200 liv.		400	17 10 0	Engliſh Acre.
One ditto,	-	150	6 11 3	
One ditto,	-	50	2 3 9	
		600	26 5 0	
Expences,	-	409	17 17 10½	
Profit,	-	191	8 7 1½	

Which, with the intereſt charged, makes 10 per cent. on 3000 liv. land, and 400 liv. buildings, the general computation, and which ſeems admitted in the country. Sixty women are neceſſary to gather the grapes for four pieces, by reaſon of the attention paid in the choice of the bunches, a circumſtance to which much of the fine flavour of the wine is owing, as well as to ſingularity of ſoil and climate; the former of which is all ſtrongly calcareous, even to being white with the chalk in it. A fine lengthened ſlope of a chalk hill hanging to the ſouth between Diſy and Aye, which I examined, is entirely covered with vines from top to bottom, and is the moſt celebrated in the province. It is indeed rather a marl than a chalk; in ſome places white—in others, much browner; and may properly be called a calcareous loam on a chalk bottom. This marl is in ſome places very deep, and in others ſhallow. I was ſhewn pieces worth 600 liv. the arpent, and others worth 3000 liv.; but the difference of ſoil was not perceptible; nor do I credit that this difference depends on ſoil; none

none of it approaching to pure chalk. It is impoſſible to diſcover, in the preſent ſtate of knowledge and information, on what depends the extraordinary quality of the wine. The people here aſſert, that in a piece of not more than three arpents, in which the ſoil is, to all appearance, abſolutely ſimilar, the middle arpent only ſhall yield the beſt wine—and the other two, that of an inferior quality. In all ſuch caſes, where there is ſomething not eaſily accounted for, the popular love of the marvellous always adds exaggeration, which is probably the caſe here.———Attention in gathering and picking the grapes, and freeing every bunch from each grape that is the leaſt unſound, muſt tend greatly to inſure the wine of the firſt quality, when the diffence of ſoil is not ſtriking. The vines are planted promiſcuouſly, three or four feet or two and a half from each other; are now about eighteen inches or two feet high; and are tied to the props with ſmall ſtraw bands. Many plantations are far from being clean; ſome full of weeds; but a great number of hands ſpread all over the hill, ſarcling with their crooked hoe. As to the culture, in the middle of January they give the cutting, *taillè*. In March dig the ground. In April and May they plant the *provins*. In June tie and hoe the *ſeps*. In Auguſt hoe again. In October, or in good years in September, the vintage. To plant an arpent of vines coſts in all 50 louis d'or.——There are 8000 plants on an acre, 24000 ſeps; and the props coſt 500 liv. to keep up the ſtock of props, 30 liv. a year.

It

It is three years before they bear any thing, and ſix before the wine is good. None are planted now; on the contrary, they grub up. Very few perſons have more than 20 or 30 arpents, except the marquis de Sillery, near Rheims, who has 250 arpents. ——At Piery, there are 20 arpents now to be ſold, a new houſe, a good cellar, magazine, a good preſs, and every thing complete, for 60,000 liv. The vines a little, but not much neglected. For this ſum I could buy a noble farm in the Bourbonnois, and make more in ſeven years, than by vines in twenty. Thoſe who have not a preſs of their own, are ſubject to hazards, which muſt neceſſarily turn the ſcale very contrary to the intereſts of the ſmall proprietor. They pay 3 liv. for the two firſt pieces, and 25 ſ. for all the reſt: but as they muſt wait the owner's convenience, their wine ſometimes is ſo damaged, that what would have been white, becomes red. Steeping before preſſing makes red wine. As to preſſing, to do it very quickly and powerfully, is much the better way; and they prefer turning the wheel of the preſs, by ſix, ſeven, or eight men, rather than by a horſe. In regard to the aides or tax on the transfer of wine.

The proprietor who ſells a piece worth 200 liv. pays	10 liv.
Ten ſols per liv,	5
Augmentation——*gauge, conſtage*, &c.	5
Octroi de la ville, & du Roi,	5
	25

The merchant, when he ſells it, pays the ſame; and every perſon through whoſe hands it paſſes.

The duty at the port, on exportation, is about 15 liv. each piece. The cabareteer and aubergiſte pays 30 or 40 more retail duty. The wine trade with England uſed to be directly from Epernay; but now the wine is ſent to Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, and Guernſey, in order to be paſſed into England, they ſuppoſe here, by ſmuggling. This may explain our Champagne not being ſo good as formerly. Should the good genius of THE PLOUGH ever permit me to be an importer of Champagne, I would deſire Monſ. Quatreſoux Paretclaine, merchant at Epernay, to ſend me ſome of what I drank in his fine cellars. But what a pretty ſuppoſition, that a farmer in England ſhould preſume to drink Champagne even in idea! ——the world muſt be turned topſy-turvy before a bottle of it can ever be on my table. Go to the monopolizers and exporters——go to——and to——and every where——except to a friend of the plough!

The eccleſiaſtical tythe is a heavy burthen. At Hautvilliers the 11th is taken for dixme; at Piery the 20th, or in money, 4 liv. 10*ſ.*; at Aye 48*ſ.*; and at Epernay 30*ſ.*; at Diſy $\frac{1}{2}$; but with all this weight of tax, nothing is known, or ever heard of, like the enormities practiſed in England, of taking the *actual* tenth. The idea of the poverty attending vines, is here as ſtrong as in any other part of France: the little and poor proprietors are all in miſery. The fact is obvious, that a hazardous and uncertain culture is ridiculous, for a man with a weak capital. How could a

Kentiſh

Kentish labourer be a hop planter? But no discrimination is found commonly in France.—The assertion is general, that the vine provinces are the poorest; but an assertion, without explanation, is utterly ridiculous. To render vines profitable, it is a common observation here, that a man ought to have one-third of his property in rents, one-third in farm, and one-third in vines. It is easy to conceive, that the most successful cultivators are those who have the largest capitals. It is thus that we hear of the exertions of merchants; men who not only have many arpents of their own vines, but buy the wine of all their little neighbours. M. Lasnier, at Aye, has from 50,000 to 60,000 bottles of wine always in his cellar; and M. Dorse from 30,000 to 40,000.

Observations.

It is merely for curiosity I observe, that the average of all the prices per measure, in the purchase of these vineyards, amounts to 6l. 8s. per acre; such a medium demands very little attention, unless the minutes were exceedingly numerous, and equally so in every province. Rejecting those in which the prices exceed 10l. an acre, as going certainly much beyond what can possibly be the medium of the kingdom, the average of the rest is 4l. 1s. 6d. per acre. But I should wish that attention were rather given to another mode of calculating the price and produce of these vineyards; there are twenty-three minutes that include

both price and produce; the average of these exclusive of such as rise above 100l. purchase, and 21l. produce, is,

For the price per English acre,
For the produce, -

Which is in French money, per arpent of Paris.—Price, - 871 liv.
Produce, 175

From which it appears, that vines, in these provinces, give, in annual produce, one-fifth of their fee simple. The amount of labour per acre, on an average of those minutes, in which it appears to be satisfactorily noted, and rejecting the higher articles as before, is 2l. 12s. 6d. The net profit appears, from several of the minutes, to vibrate between 7 and 10 per cent. on the capital employed. How nearly these averages, noticed in my route, approach the real medium of the whole kingdom, it is impossible, with any degree of accuracy, to conjecture; but I am inclined to believe, that the difference may not be considerable. This however, must be left, with a proper diffidence, to the well informed reader's superior sagacity. The importance of this branch of cultivation to the kingdom, and the idea so common

* The Marquis de Mirabeau observed, that an arpent of vines is, on an average, worth double the best arpent of corn. *L'Ami des hommes.* 5th. edit. 1760. tom. 6. p. 137. This agrees pretty well with my notes.

there,

there, I may almoſt ſay univerſal, that the wine provinces are the pooreſt, and that the culture is miſchievous to the national intereſts, are ſubjects too curious to be diſmiſſed haſtily: as my opinion is directly the reverſe of the prevalent one in France, it is neceſſary to explain the circumſtances on which it is founded. It appears, by the preceding minutes, that the value of the ſoil thus employed was probably higher than it could be in any other application, good meadows (valuable from their ſcarcity) alone excepted: that the produce much exceeds all others; and laſtly, that the employment depending upon it is very conſiderable. Under ſuch leading and powerful circumſtances, and connected as they are with another not leſs eſſential, that vaſt tracks of the land thus employed are rock and declivities, too ſteep for the plough,—it ſhould ſeem aſtoniſhing, how an idea could ever be entertained that ſuch a cultivation could be prejudicial to a country: it is, however, very general in France. The queſtion ought to be put ſolely on this iſſue,—Would the ſame land under any other culture ſell at the ſame price? 45l. per acre, amounting to thirty years purchaſe, at 30s. an acre, is ſuch a value as France, in the richeſt vales, knows nothing of (meadows alone excepted, which will always be valuable according to ſcarcity and to heat of climate), and we in England as little. But this greater value ariſes not by any means from the richeſt lands, but from thoſe which, conſidered on a medium, are certainly very inferior to the reſt of the kingdom. Great tracks

tracks could be applied to no other uſe than of ſheepwalk or warren; much is ſituated, in ſome of the pooreſt ſoils of the kingdom, on ſands, ſharp gravels, and lands ſo ſtony, as to be inapplicable to the plough: to poſſeſs a climate that gives the power of raiſing ſuch land to the value of 30l. or 40l. an acre, is, beyond all doubt or queſtion, a ſuperiority that cannot be too much valued. The amount of the produce is not leſs ſtriking: rich paſtures ſell every where at high prices, becauſe they are attended with no expences; and thus a ſmall product may be claſſed with a large one; but it is not ſo with vines. The average of 9l. an acre, on a mean of good and bad years, is ſuch as no other plant will equal that is cultivated in France, watered lands alone excepted. It is only on ſingularly fine ſoils, in certain peculiar diſtricts, that any thing approaching ſuch a product is to be met with. There is no part of Europe, in which a crop of wheat of ſuch value is not exceedingly large, and much beyond the average. That of all the wheat, in any of the richeſt counties of England, vibrates between 6l. and 7l. an acre, prepared for, perhaps, by a barren and expenſive fallow,—at leaſt by ſomething much leſs profitable than itſelf. What then are we to think of a plant which covers your land with a rich crop of wheat every year? There are many men, however, in France, who will ſay, YOUR REASONING MUST BE ERRONEOUS; *for there is not a vine proprietor in France, who would not give you his vineyerd for your ideal wheat of every year.* The obſervation may be perfectly

juſt

juſt; but it is no anſwer to me, who am not ſpeaking of *net profit*, but of *produce*. To him, who conſiders the ſubject in a national light, and as a politician, the former is not the object;—the great point is to ſecure a large produce. The prince may levy ſuch heavy taxes on the produce; and it may be gained by ſuch an operoſe culture, that the poor may levy a much heavier for their labour; the conſequence to the cultivator may be a low profit, but to the nation at large the importance of the product remains the ſame, and unimpeached. And in this light I look upon that of vines as ſo conſiderable, that ſhould the fact of the real average of the whole kingdom prove leſs than I make it—even ſo little as 7l. per acre, I ſhould ſtill eſteem the culture an object of infinite national conſequence. In regard to the net profit, which on the minutes vibrates from 7 to 10 per cent. it does not ſeem to ſome to be adequate to the peculiar happineſs of the climate, and the reputation of the wine throughout the world; or to the price of the land, or amount of the product. But, in this reſpect, it muſt be conſidered, that the minutes, ſo far as they concern the returns in money, are the prices of the vintage only; whereas every man that has a capital ſufficient, by keeping his wine for three months only, adds conſiderably to the profit.—If a proprietor be merely able to ſtore his crop in caſks in his cellar, long enough to avoid the immediate neceſſity of ſelling for want of caſks, he has an advance of price, which will greatly augment the ratio of his profit: it is very fair to give the

the cultivator of vines the ſame time that is taken by moſt of his brethren with whom corn is the object, that is to ſay, ſix months from the harveſt. The difference of profit is exceedingly great between the ſale in the vintage, and that of ſix months after. But it is ſtill of more conſequence to obſerve, that the rate per cent. here mentioned, is not on the mere buſineſs of the cultivator, but on the purchaſe of the eſtate upon which the culture is carried on. This makes an enormous difference. If agriculture, in England, yield 15 per cent. and landed property three, throw the two together, and the mean is not more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6; and thoſe who, in England, buy an eſtate, and ſtock, and cultivate it, and make 6 per cent. will not think they are ſuffering, notwithſtanding the accumulated advantages of a century of freedom.

It is this large annual product which in the vine provinces gives bread to ſuch numbers of people; beſide the direct object of common labour, which amounts, as we have ſeen, to 2l. 12s. 6d. per acre, and conſequently is above thrice as high as that of common arable crops, and if they are not in very complete culture, the ſuperiority is much more conſiderable, there is the trade of caſks, which, independent of the employment of coopers, gives a value to the woods of a country, as well as an activity to foreign commerce, by the import of ſtaves and hoops. The props have the ſame effect as our hop poles, and render willow plantations, as well as common under-woods,

much

much more valuable than they would be otherwiſe. Beſides, there is the circumſtance, that ſo many politicians regard alone, the exportation of the wine, and the caſk or the bottle; forming, whether in the ſhape of wine or of brandy (as I ſhall by and by ſhew), one of the greateſt trades of export that is to be ſeen in Europe; as much the export of French labour, as that of the ſilks of Lyons, or the cloths of Louviers. And after all this, if I be allowed to place laſt, what in truth ought ever to be regarded firſt, that is, the home conſumption, there is the invaluable advantage of a whole people being well and amply ſupplied with a beverage, the effect of their own induſtry, and the reſult of their own labour; and it ſurely will not be thought a ſmall advantage, that a nation has recourſe, for ſupplying this conſumption, to her ſands, gravels, declivities, and rocks; that ſhe demands it not of her rich plains, but of thoſe lands which her leſs fortunate neighbours are forced to cover with copſe or rabbits. But here we are not to forget, that argument is always to give way to fact. From what I have juſt ſaid, the reader is not to conclude that ſuch lands *only* are under vines in France, the contrary is the fact; I found them on the noble and fertile plain of the Garonne; on the richeſt lands in the vale which extends from Narbonne to Nimes; in the vales of Dauphiné and of the Loire; and, in a word, indiſcriminately on every ſort of land in all the wine provinces; but I found them alſo on ſuch rocky and bad ſoils as I have deſcri-

ed, and in ſo great quantities as to ſhew how well adapted they are to ſuch ſoils and ſituations. There are two reaſons why vines are ſo often found in rich plains; the firſt is, the export of wheat being either prohibited or allowed with ſuch irregularity, that the farmer is never ſure of a price: but the export of wine and brandy has never been ſtopped for a moment. The effect of ſuch a contraſt in policy muſt have been conſiderable; and I ſaw its influence in every part of France, by the new vineyards already planted, or begun to be planted, on corn lands, while the people were ſtarving for want of bread; of ſuch conſequence, in the encouragement of any culture, is a *ſteady unvarrying policy!* The fact is the more ſtriking in France, becauſe the vine culture is very much burthened in taxation; but, always poſſeſſing a free trade, it thrives. The ſecond reaſon is, that the culture of this plant is much better underſtood in France that than of corn. An advantageous rotation of crops, and that arrangement of a farm which makes cattle neceſſary to corn, and corn neceſſary to cattle, on which the profit of arable land ſo much depends, is what the French have hardly an idea of. In their practice it is never to be ſeen, and in their books it is never to be read. But their vineyards are gardens; the turnips of Norfolk, the carrots of Suffolk, the beans of Kent, and the cabbages of an Engliſh gentleman are not ſo clean as the vines of France, while the whole œconomy of the plant

is

is perfectly underſtood, both in theory and practice. It is a queſtion, which I have heard often ſtarted in converſation, whether it be nationally more advantageous that wine ſhould be, as in France, the common beverage, or beer, as in England? How it ſhould ever become a queſtion I cannot underſtand. We are, of neceſſity, *obliged* to have recourſe to our beſt lands to ſupply our drink; the French, under a good government, would have *all* theirs from their worſt ſoils. The ſands of Sologne, which are paſſed in the way from Blois to Chambord, &c. &c. are as bad as ours in Suffolk and Norfolk, which feed only rabbits. The French ſands, by means of vines, yield 8l. or 9l. an acre, and thoſe of Suffolk not ſo many ſhillings. Through nine-tenths of England, the land that yields wheat in every rotation yields alſo barley. If our hills, rocks, ſands, and chalky declivities gave us our liquor, could we not apply theſe richer ſoils to ſomething better than beer? Could we not, by means of rotations, that made potatoes, tares, beans, and artificial graſſes the preparatives for wheat alternately, contrive to raiſe infinitely more bread, beef, and mutton, if barley did not of neceſſity come in for an attention equal to what we give to wheat? Wheat, rye, barley, and oats exhauſt; every other crop we raiſe, either actually or conſequentially, ameliorates. Would it be no advantage to ſtrike out one of theſe exhauſters, and ſubſtitute an improver? Would it be no ad-

vantage to feed all the horſes of Britain on beans inſtead of oats? Your populouſneſs may be proportioned to your quantity of bread, mutton, and beef. With one-fourth of your land under barley, can you have as much bread, mutton, and beef, as if you were not under the neceſſity of having any barley at all? How few agricultural combinations muſt there be in a mind that can entertain doubts on ſuch queſtions? There is a common idea that wine is not a wholeſome beverage, I take this to be a vulgar error; bad wine, or wine kept till ſharp and acid, may be unwholeſome, but ſo is bad beer, or beer kept till acid: but this has nothing to do with the queſtion. If the lower people be forced, through poverty, to drink bad liquor, the complaint ought not to be that wine is unwholeſome, but that a bad government is unwholeſome: the beer drinkers under ſuch a one, will not have much to boaſt. There may be more ſtrength and vigour of body among the common people in England than among the ſame claſs in France; if this be true, it proves nothing againſt wine. Are the french poor as well fed as ours? Do they eat an equal quantity of animal fleſh? Were they as free? Theſe common prejudices, for or againſt certain liquors, are uſually built on very inſufficient obſervation.

But the enemies of vineyards recur to the charge; *the vine provinces are the pooreſt of the kingdom; and you always ſee miſery among the poor proportioned*

to

*to the quantity of vines**.—This is the main hinge on which the argument turns; it is an obſervation, that has been made to me a thouſand times in France, and converſation never touches on the ſubject but you are ſure to hear it repeated.—There is ſome truth in it as a fact—there is none as an argument. There is uſually a conſiderable population in vine provinces; and doubtleſs it is not ſurpriſing, that where there is a great population there ſhould be many poor, under a bad government. But there is another reaſon much more ſatisfactory, which ariſes not at all from the nature of the culture, but from the abuſe of it. It is the ſmallneſs of the property into which vineyards are uſually divided; a circumſtance carried to ſuch exceſs, that the miſery flowing from it can hardly be imagined by thoſe who are whirled through France in a poſt-chaiſe. The nature of the culture depending almoſt entirely on manual labour, and demanding no other capital than the poſſeſſion of the land and a pair of arms; no carts, no ploughs, no cattle, neceſſarily leads the poor people to this ſpecies of property; and the univerſal practice of dividing it between the children, multiplies theſe little farms to ſuch a degree, that

* So lately as in the Journal Phyſique for May 1790, Monſ. Roland de la Platiere, a gentleman with whom I had the pleaſure of ſome agreeable converſation at Lyons, ſays, that of all countries the vine ones are the pooreſt, and the people the moſt wretched! And in the *cahier* of the clergy of Auxerre, it is demanded, that the ordonances againſt planting vines on land proper for corn be executed. p. 19.

a fa-

a family depends on a ſpot of land for ſupport that cannot poſſibly yield it; this weakens the application to other induſtry, rivets the children to a ſpot from which they ought to emigrate, and gives them a flattering intereſt in a piece of land, that tempts them to remain when better intereſts call them elſewhere. The conſequence is, their labouring as much as they can for their richer neighbours; their own little vineyards are then neglected; and that culture, which to a more able proprietor is deciſively advantageous, becomes ruinous to inſufficient funds. But a misfortune, greater even than this, is the uncertainty of the crop; to a man of a proper capital, and who conſequently regards only the average of ſeven years, this is of no account; but to the poor proprietor, who lives from hand to mouth, it is fatal; he cannot ſee half a year's labour loſt by hail, froſt, cold, or other inclemencies of the ſeaſon, without ſeeing, at the ſame time, his children in want of bread; before the ample produce comes, which certainly will come on the average account, he finds himſelf in the hoſpital. This I take to be the origin of that general and too indiſcriminate condemnation of vineyards in France. The poverty is obvious; it is connected with vines, and for want of proper diſtinctions, it is conſidered as neceſſarily flowing from vineyards; but in fact it is merely the reſult of ſmall properties among the poor: a poor family can no where be better ſituated than in a vine province, provided he poſſeſs not a plant. What-

ever may be the ſeaſon, they are ſure of ample employment among their richer neighbours, and to an amount, as we have above ſeen, thrice as great as any other arable lands afford. That culture which demands 2l. 12s. in hand labour only, whether there be crop or no crop, and which employs women and children of all ages, ought not ſurely to be condemned as the origin of diſtreſs among the poor. Attribute the fact to its true cauſe, the deſire and ſpirit of poſſeſſing landed property, which is univerſal in France, and occaſions infinite miſery. This circumſtance, ſo prevalent in that kingdom, and (comparatively ſpeaking) ſo little known in ours, where the poor are ſo much more at their eaſe than in France and moſt other countries, is very curious to a political obſerver. What an apparent contradiction, that property ſhould be the parent of poverty, yet there is not a clearer or better aſcertained fact in the range of modern politics. The only property fit for a poor family, is their cottage, garden, and perhaps graſs land enough to yield milk; this needs not of neceſſity impede their daily labour; if they have more, they are to be claſſed with farmers, and will have arable fields, which muſt, in the nature of things, be ill cultivated, and the national intereſt conſequently ſuffer.

The explanations I have given of the wine ſyſtem in France will be received, I truſt, with candour. To inveſtigate ſuch queſtions fully, would demand diſſertations expreſsly written on every ſubject that ariſes, which would be inconſiſtent

ſiſtent with the brevity neceſſary to the regiſter of travels: I attempt no more than to arrange the facts procured; it belongs to the political arithmetician fully to combine and illuſtrate them.

CHAP. XI.

Of Incloſures in France.

THERE is ſcarcely a circumſtance concerning this great kingdom, which ought to be ſo well known, and yet which is ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, both in common books and common converſation, as the ſubject of this inquiry. The idle loungers, that write the guides and journies to Paris and Rome, would makes their readers believe, that if you turn a horſe looſe at Calais, he may run to Bayonne for want of an incloſure to ſtop him. France is certainly much leſs incloſed than England; but the travellers, who take the common route only from Calais to Paris, Dijon, Lyons, and Chambery, can have no more idea of the incloſures in that kingdom, than if they had ſtaid at home in Portman or Groſvenor-ſquares. The principal diſtricts of incloſures which I viewed are, all Bretagne, the weſtern part of Normandy, with the northern part to the Siene.

Moſt

Moſt of Anjou and Maine, as far as near Alençon. To the S. of the Loire an immenſe range of country is incloſed; Bas Poitou, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, Limoſin, the Bourbonnois, and much of the Nevernois; and from Mont-Cenis in Burgundy, to St. Poncin in Auvergne, all is incloſed. There is ſome open country in the Angoumois, and the eaſtern part of Poitou, but more is incloſed. Quercy is partly ſo; but the whole diſtrict of the Pyrences, from Perpignan to Bayonne, extending to Auch, and almoſt to Toulouſe, is all (waſtes excepted) thickly incloſed. This contiguous maſs of country comprehends not leſs than 11,000 ſquare leagues* of the 26,000 contained in the whole kingdom; and if to this we add the conſiderable diſtricts in other parts of France which are incloſed, they will, beyond a doubt, raiſe the total to a full half of the kingdom. It is to be conſidered, that Provence, eſpecially about Avignon, is not without incloſures; Dauphiné has more. The whole range of the mountainous diſtrict of Auvergne, Velay, Vivarais, and Cevenois, contains many: Franche Compté and Burgundy, eſpecially the former, have large tracts incloſed; Loraine has ſome; and Flanders has them throughout. Add to this, moſt of the vineyards, woods and foreſts, and meadows †,

* That is, equal to the contents of the following generalities Rennes, Caen, Tours, Bourges, Poitiers, Limoges, Moulins, Rochelle, Auch and Pau, Montauban, and Bourdeaux.

† Not all; for many are common, and there are rights over others.

of the kingdom; and it will not be thought too large an allowance, to ſuppoſe one-half of it in this ſtate. In ſuch a calculation, it would be abſurd to pretend to accuracy; it is a gueſs founded on actual obſervation, and innumerable notes taken on the ſpot. Some of the incloſed provinces are chequered by open fields; and every open province is chequered by tracks that are incloſed. Another remark, not unneceſſary to make, for the uſe of ſuch as may travel in future, is, that there are many lands in France really incloſed for moſt of the purpoſes of huſbandry, though apparently open; that is, property is abſolutely diſtinguiſhed, though without the limit of a hedge or a ditch. The uſe which is made of incloſures in this great kingdom, is a ſubject of more importance. If they do not know what to do with them, they might as well not have them. That is really the caſe, no perſon can doubt who travels there with attention; and a ſtronger proof cannot be adduced, than that the ſame price per arpent ſhould be given for incloſed and open lands, provided both are arable. This fact I met with often, to my aſtoniſhment. It is the more ſingular, becauſe there are many parts alſo of the ſame kingdom, where the ſmall proprietors ſhew, by their practice, how well they underſtand the value of incloſing; no ſooner acquiring the ſoil, than immediately ſecuring it to themſelves by hedges, or ditches, or both. Bearn is as ſtriking an inſtance of this as any part of Europe can exhibit. There is not a diſtrict in England cloſer, thicker, or better incloſed; and,

what

what is uncommon in France, gates and ſtiles are in good order. The whole territory of the Pyrenees is in general an incloſed country, but fences are not ſo neat, or ſo well preſerved, as in Bearn. In Bretagne alſo, the whole of which is more or leſs incloſed, though ordinarily with a rough and ſavage aſpect, yet there is a diſtrict from Guingamp to Belleiſle much better, where the gates are ingeniouſly contrived to ſave iron; by means of the poſts being ſtout, that on which the gate ſwings has a projection at top and at bottom, the latter being ſufficient for the gate to turn *on*, and the former to turn *in*, for confining it to the perpendicular poſition; and the other poſt has a hole, ſlit, or gaſh, cut acroſs the face of it, for lifting a projection of the head of the gate into, by which it is as ſecurely faſtened, as by means of irons in the gates of England——a contrivance that anſwers well where wood is not too dear.

It cannot be doubted, but that in theſe provinces, and in Limoſin, Berry, and others, where I obſerved the hedges well kept, and gaps attentively mended, the farmers muſt be well perſuaded, from experience, of the advantages of incloſing. They would not put themſelves to a conſiderable expenſe, if they did not expect a reimburſement. But in the provinces where the open field predominate, there incloſures are little valued; I do not well underſtand the reaſon for this;—if the huſbandry varied in the incloſed fields, from that of the uninclоſed ones, there would be nothing ſurpriſing in it; but the marvellous folly is, that, in nine-

tenths of all the incloſures of France, the ſyſtem of management is preciſely the ſame as in the open fields; that is to ſay, fallows as regularly prevail, and conſequently the cattle and ſheep of a farm are nothing in compariſon of what they ought to be. Flanders and Alſace, and in general the very rich ſoils, are well cultivated, but not every where; for the noble loams of Bernay to Elbœuf, and thoſe of the Pays de Caux, are diſgraced with fallows. Sologne is incloſed, yet it is the moſt miſerable province in France, of the ſame rank with Bretagne itſelf. The Bourbonnois, and great part of the Nevernois, are incloſed; yet the courſe purſued is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and, 1, fallow; 2, rye; 3, left to weeds and broom—and all theſe on ſoils, as Bretagne, Sologne, and the Bourbonnois, highly improveable, and capable of the beſt Norfolk huſbandry. With ſuch miſerable ſyſtems, of what good are incloſures?—Hence we may draw this concluſion, that when we find half of France incloſed, we are not to ſuppoſe that kingdom in the ſtate of improvement and cultivation, which this circumſtance implies among us; on the contrary, it indicates no ſuch thing; for ſome of the pooreſt, and moſt unimproved provinces, are preciſely theſe which are incloſed; and, for what I know, there may be viſionary theoriſts in that kingdom, who will, from this circumſtance, argue againſt the practice of incloſing, ſince no abſurdities are ſo groſs as to want advocates.

The chief cauſe of new incloſure in France, that fell within my knowledge, is, that the communities

nities of many parishes, in various parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the territory of the Pyrenees, being proprietors of the wastes, sell them to any person that applies for the property; to him they give an absolute assignment, without reserving any rights of commonage or fuel; in consequnce of which, the purchaser has the power of inclosure, of which he never fails making use. Hence such numerous improvements have been made in the mountainous provinces. On the other hand, in the waste plains of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, the whole being in the hands of great lords or seigneurs, who will not sell, but only fief out these wastes, we see them remain in the same barren and desolate state in which they were five hundred years ago; nor is it a small impediment, in these cases, that the rights of commonage are claimed in many instances by communities, when the property is in the seigneurs; a claim that has no existence when the property is in the communities themselves.

The open arable fields of Picardy, Artois, part of Normandy, the Isle of France, Brie, and the Pays de Beauce, are cursed with all the mischievous circumstances known in similar cases in England, such as rights of common pasturage, commencing on given days, when under corn, and throughout the fallow year; as well as that miserable phantastical division of property which seems to have been contrived, for giving an occupier as much trouble and expence as possible in the culture of his scraps of fields. In England we have been making,

making, for forty or fifty years paſt, a conſiderable progreſs in the allotment and incloſure of open fields; and though tythes, folly, obſtinancy, prejudice, and heavy expences in parliament, operate powerfully in preventing great numbers of incloſures, yet we have enough to preſerve the habit, mode, and ſyſtem of doing the buſineſs; it goes on; and, from the progreſs of good ſenſe and experience, we may hope to have the whole kingdom incloſed in another century. In France, on the contrary, they have not taken the firſt ſtep; they have not deviſed a method of proceeding; they know not, nor have any idea of giving full powers to commiſſioners to go through the Herculean labour, as the French would eſteem it, of making a fair diviſion, without appeal. There was a royal edict for this purpoſe in 1764, or 1765, I think, which had a particular reference to Loraine; but, in paſſing through that province, I made enquiries into its effect, and found little or nothing had reſulted from it. Nay, I was aſſured at Metz, Pont a Mouſſon, Nancy, and Luneville, that rights of common paſture were univerſal in the province, and that every thing was eaten which was ſown contrary to the eſtabliſhed routine. I aſked, at Luneville, why they had not more lucerne? The anſwer was, the *droit de parçours* prevents it. But under the old government of France, no permiſſion, or regulation of this ſort, could be carried into execution, becauſe there was in reality no legiſlature in France. I ſhall elſewhere ſhew this more diſtinctly: no law could be effectual, unleſs conſent-

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ed to *willingly* by the parliaments, and then vigorouſly executed by them; for, by means of the vicious conſtitution of their courts of juſtice, there was no executive government to carry the law into execution; ſo that if all parties were not fully united in executing, as well as enacting in any meaſure, nothing could ever be done——the King being really impotent in this reſpect, with all his deſpotiſm. Under the new government, which is eſtabliſhing in France, I have great doubts whether any progreſs can ever be made in this great and leading ſtep to all uſeful improvements in agriculture: as far as the preſent conſtitution can be underſtood, it is the will of the *people* that is to govern; and I know of no country where the people are not againſt incloſures. The Tiers Etat, and clergy of Metz * expreſsly demand, that the edict of incloſure ſhall be revoked: that of Troyes, and Niſmes, and Anjou, make the ſame requeſt †; another, that the right of commonage in foreſts ſhall be granted to the neighbouring pariſhes §.—The nobility of Cambray declare, commons ought not

* *Cahier du Tiers Etat de Metz*, p. 45. *Du Clergé*, p. 11. The very people, therefore, moſt peſtered with commons are thoſe who are the firſt to deſire them. *Mem. ſur la Culture du Chou Navet, par M. de Mononcourt.* 8vo. 1788. p. 7.

† *T. Etat. Troyes.* Art. 118; *Niſmes*, p. 27. *Anjou*, p. 49.

§ *T. Etat Thimerais.* p. 44.

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to be broken up §. Nay, ſome of the *cahiers* go ſo far as to ſay, that the commons which have already been divided, ought to be thrown open again ‖. Hence we may judge what probability there can be, of any new and effective laws to promote and *enforce* ſuch a meaſure.

To enter largely into the advantages of incloſures, in ſuch a work as this, and at this time of day, would be ſuperflous **; it is ſufficient to remark, that without a regular ſyſtem of incloſures no

§ *Nob. Cambray*, p. 19. It is, however, but juſt to remark, that the diviſion of commons is demanded by the nobility of Sens, p. 26; noblity of Provence, p. 24; nobility of St. Quintin, p. 12; the clergy of Bayonne, art. 51; the nobility of Lyons, p. 23. The Tiers Etat of Cotentin, MS.

‖ *Clergé Saumur*, p. 9. *Troyes*, p. 10.

** The King of Pruſſia juſtly remarks, "Ce ne fut qu'apres la ſéparation des communes que l'agriculture des Anglois commença à proſpérer." *Oeuvres*, tom. v. p. 151: See alſo, for vaſt advantages, *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. vol. v. p. 125. But, above all, let me quote the inſtances given by a French writer, which are ſo pointed as to merit much attention. "There are in the election of Chateau Thiery, 109 communities, among whom 32 poſſeſs commons, and 74 have none. In the 32, eleven have augmented in their fires 152; twenty others have diminiſhed 375; and one has reſted as it was; in the 77 without commons, 13 have augmented 147 fires; 42 diminiſhed 473; and 22 remained as they were. The election of Soiſſons offers an example not leſs ſtriking; 32 pariſhes poſſeſs near 4000 arpens of commons, which contained, in 1729, families 2470; but at preſent they are reduced to 1689. In 20 villages without commons, there are 90 fires more

no cattle can be kept, except on the Flemiſh ſyſtem of conſtant confinement in ſtables, ſtalls, or yards; and this method, when the lands which are to yield the food are diſtant from the home-ſtall, is inconvenient and expenſive, though in a great variety of reſpects truly admirable. With open field farms, much diſperſed, it is impoſſible to follow the Flemiſh ſyſtem; not only becauſe the eſtabliſhed rotation excludes the proper plants for cattle, but becauſe, if they were raiſed, they could not be daily carted home, without committing treſpaſſes on other people; therefore, it ſhould always be remembered, that cattle and incloſures are ſynonymous terms. The numerous academies and ſocieties of agriculture in France, that, by premiums and diſſertations, attempted to increaſe the cattle of the kingdom, by the culture of new graſſes and other plants, without making proper diſtinctions, and paying a peculiar attention to incloſed diſtricts, could not, in the nature of things, ſee any good effects reſult from their endeavours: it was ſomething like the Intendant's given turnip ſeed to farmers who had not, perhaps, a ſingle acre of land in circumſtances that permitted the cultivation. But we may ſafely aſſert, that with-

more than in 20 other villages that have commons. With commons there is a cow to $2\frac{1}{15}$ arpents; without, one to $9\frac{1}{2}$ arpents." *Traité des Communes.* 8vo. 1777. And it is very well obſerved by another, that commons and common fields are of much leſs uſe to thoſe who want moſt, than to thoſe who can do without them. *Memoire de la Soc. Oecon. de Berne.* 1762. t. ii. p. 80.

out inclosure the half of France cannot possibly support the requisite stock of cattle and sheep; and without such stock, a good and productive husbandry is utterly impracticable. On whatever agricultural subject we may be employed, it is never to be forgotten, nor can we recur too often to the position, that the fallows of a farm are to support the cattle and sheep of it.

The first great object of French agriculture is to establish a better husbandry in the parts of the kingdom already inclosed; and the second is to inclose the parts now open. It is remarkable that vineyards are generally open, though property is distinct and ascertained; I have met with instances where the divided and scattered scraps of land in this culture have been as various and as inconvenient as in common arable fields, probably from their having been in this state before they were converted into vineyards. Inclosures, however, are in no culture more important than in the vineyard. Trespasses are mischievous in proportion to the value of the product, and to the ease and temptation of committing them. The assiduity exerted, and the expence bestowed, in watching vineyards in many parts of France, are a convincing proof, that the better they are inclosed, the more valuable they would be considered. How far the shelter resulting from inclosures would preserve the vines from inclemencies of unfavourable seasons, deserves the attention of French agriculturists. There is another light in which this improvement may be placed, which in France merits

merits particular attention, namely, the neceſſity of making every where proviſion for fuel, by ſome application of the land to it, from the ſcarcity or badneſs of coal in ſeven-eights of the kingdom. I have already ſhewn what an immenſe proportion of it is under woods and foreſts, for ſupplying fuel; whereas a well regulated incloſure, the hedges judiciouſly planted and preſerved, would yield, as they do in England, conſiderable quantities of fuel. Where ſhelter or humidity were wanted, this quantity would be large; where the fence ſimply was the object, it would be leſs, as ſuch motives would regulate the height of the hedge.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tenantry, and Size of Farms in France.

THERE are five circumſtances in the occupation of land in France, under which I may include the very numerous notes I took in all the provinces, and which are too voluminous for inſertion: 1, the ſmall properties of the peaſants; 2, hiring at money rent, as in England; 3, feudal tenures; 4, monopolizing lands hired a money rent, and re-let to peaſants; 5, *metayers*; by

which is to be underſtood, hiring at half or third produce.

I. The ſmall properties of the peaſants are found every where, to a degree we have no idea of in England; they are found in every part of the kingdom, even in thoſe provinces where other tenures prevail; but in Quercy, Languedoc, the whole diſtrict of the Pyrenees, Bearn, Gaſcoign, part of Guienne, Alſace, Flanders, and Loraine, they abound to a greater degree than common. In Flanders, Alſace, on the Garonne, and Bearn, I found many in comfortable circumſtances, ſuch as might rather be called ſmall farmers than cottagers, and in Bas Bretagne, many are reputed rich, but in general they are poor and miſeable, much ariſing from the minute diviſion of their little farms among all the children. In Loraine, and the part of Champagne that joins it, they are quite wretched. I have, more than once, ſeen diviſion carried to ſuch exceſs, that a ſingle fruit tree, ſtanding in about ten perch of ground, has conſtituted a farm, and the local ſituation of a family decided by the poſſeſſion.

II. Hiring at money rent is the general practice in Picardy, Artois, part of Flanders, Normandy (except the Pays de Caux), Iſle of France, and Pays de Beauce; and I found ſome in Bearn and about Navarens. Such tenures are found alſo in moſt parts of France, ſcattered among thoſe which are different and predominant; but, upon a moderate eſtimate, they have not yet made their way through more than a ſixth or ſeventh of the kingdom.

III. Feudal

III. Feudal tenures.——Theſe are fiefs granted by the ſeigneurs of pariſhes, under a reſervation of fines, quit rents, forfeitures, ſervices, &c.; I found them abounding moſt in Bretagne, Limoſin, Berry, La Marche, &c. where they ſpread through whole provinces; but they are ſcattered very much in every part of the kingdom. About Verſon, Vatan, &c. in Berry they complained ſo heavily of theſe burthens, that the mode of levying and enforcing them muſt conſtitute much of the evil; they are every where much more burthenſome than apparent, from the amount which I attribute to that circumſtance. Legal adjudications, they aſſert, are very ſevere againſt the tenant, in favour of the ſeigneur.

IV. Monopoly.——This is commonly practiſed in various of the provinces where *metaying* is known; men of ſome ſubſtance hire great tracks of land, at a money rent, and re-let it in ſmall diviſions to metayers, who pay half the produce. I heard many complaints of it in La Marche, Berry, Poitou, and Angoumois, and it is met with in other provinces; it appears to flow from the difficulties inherent in the metaying ſyſtem, but is itſelf a miſchievous practice, well known in Ireland, where theſe middle men are almoſt baniſhed.

V. *Metayers.*——This is the tenure under which, perhaps, ſeven-eights of the lands of France are held; it pervades almoſt every part of Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limoſin, Anjou, Bourgogne, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Auvergne, &c. and is found in Bretagne, Maine, Provence, and all the ſouthern

ſouthern counties, &c. In Champagne there are many at *tier franc*, which is the third of the produce, but in general it is half. The landlord commonly finds half the cattle and half the ſeed; and the metayer labour, implements, and taxes; but in ſome diſtricts the landlord bears a ſhare of theſe. In Berry ſome are at half, ſome one-third, ſome one-fourth produce. In Rouſſillon the landlord pays half the taxes; and in Guienne, from Auch to Fleuran, many landlords pay all. Near Aiguillon, on the Garonne, the metayers furniſh half the cattle. Near Falaiſe, in Normandy, I found metayers, where they ſhould leaſt of all be looked for, on the farms which gentlemen keep in their own hands; the conſequence there is, that every gentleman's farm muſt be preciſely the worſt cultivated of all the neighbourhood:—this diſgraceful circumſtance needs no comment. At Nangis, in the Iſle of France, I met with an agreement for the landlord to furniſh live ſtock, implements, harneſs, and taxes; the metayer found labour and his own capitation tax; ——the landlord repaired the houſe and gates; the metayer the windows:—the landlord provided ſeed the firſt year; the metayer the laſt; in the intervening years they ſupply half and half. Produce ſold for money divided. Butter and cheeſe uſed in the metayer's family, to any amount, compounded for at 5s. a cow. In the Bourbonnois the landlord finds all ſorts of live ſtock, yet the metayer ſells, changes, and buys at his will; the ſteward keeping an accoünt of theſe mutations, for the landlord has half the product of ſales, and pays half

half the purchaſes. The tenant carts the landlord's half of the corn to the barn of the chateau, and comes again to take the ſtraw; the conſequences of this abſurd ſyſtem are ſtriking; land which in England would let at 10s. pay about 2s. 6d. for both land and live ſtock.

At the firſt bluſh, the great diſadvantage of the metaying ſyſtem is to landlords; but, on a nearer examination, the tenants are found in the loweſt ſtate of poverty, and ſome of them in miſery. At Vatan, in Berry, I was aſſured, that the metayers almoſt every year borrowed their bread of the landlord before the harveſt came round, yet hardly worth borrowing, for it was made of rye and barley mixed; I taſted enough of it to pity ſincerely the poor people; but no common perſon there eats wheaten bread; with all this miſery among the farmers, the landlord's ſituation may be eſtimated by the rents he receives. At Salbris, in Sologne, for a ſheep-walk that feeds 700 ſheep, and 200 Engliſh acres of other land, paid the landlord, for his half, about 33l. ſterling; the whole rent, for land and ſtock too, did not, therefore, amount to 1s. per head on the ſheep! In Limoſin the metayers are conſidered as little better than menial ſervants, removeable at pleaſure, and obliged to conform in all things to the will of the landlords; it is commonly computed that half the tenantry are deeply in debt to the proprietor, ſo that he is often obliged to turn them off with the loſs of theſe debts,

debts, in order to ſave his land from running waſte.

In all the modes of occupying land, the great evil is the ſmallneſs of farms. There are large ones in Picardy, the Iſle of France, the Pays de Beauce, Artois, and Normandy: but, in the reſt of the kingdom, ſuch are not general. The diviſion of the farms and population is ſo great, that the miſery flowing from it is in many places extreme; the idleneſs of the people is ſeen the moment you enter a town on market-day; the ſwarms of people are incredible. At Landerviſiau, in Bretagne, I ſaw a man who walked ſeven miles to bring two chickens, which would not ſell for 24*l.* the couple, as he told me himſelf. At Avranches men attending each a horſe, with a pannier load of ſea ooze, not more than four buſhels. Near Iſenheim, in Alſace, a rich country, women, in the midſt of harveſt, where their labour is nearly as valuable as that of men, reaping graſs by the road ſide to carry home to their cows.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three material queſtions obviouſly ariſe; 1ſt, the inconveniencies of metaying, and the advantages of the tenure at a money rent; 2d, the ſize of farms; 3d, how far ſmall properties are beneficial.

I. *Me-*

1. *Metayers.*

This ſubject may be eaſily diſpatched; for there is not one word to be ſaid in favour of the practice, and a thouſand arguments that might be uſed againſt it. The hard plea of neceſſity can alone be urged in its favour; the poverty of the farmers being ſo great, that the landlord muſt ſtock the farm, or it could not be ſtocked at all: this is a moſt cruel burthen to a proprietor, who is thus obliged to run much of the hazard of farming in the moſt dangerous of all methods, that of truſting his property abſolutely in the hands of people who are generally ignorant, many careleſs, and ſome undoubtedly wicked. Among ſome gentlemen I perſonally knew, I was acquainted with one at Bagnere de Luchon, who was obliged to ſell his eſtate, becauſe he was unable to reſtock it, the ſheep having all died of epidemical diſtempers; proceeding, doubtleſs, from the execrable methods of the metayers cramming them into ſtables as hot as ſtoves, on reeking dunghills; and then, in the common cuſtom of the kingdom, ſhutting every hole and crack that could let in air.—In this moſt miſerable of all the modes of letting land, after running the hazard of ſuch loſſes, fatal in many inſtances, the defrauded landlord receives a contemptible rent;—the farmer is in the loweſt ſtate of poverty;—the land is miſerably cultivated; and the nation ſuffers as ſeverely as the parties themſelves. It is

a curious queſtion how this practice came to be exploded in Picardy, Normandy, and the Iſle of France The wealth of great cities will effect ſomething, but not much; for Bourdeaux, Marſeilles, and, above all, Lyons and Nantes, have done nothing in this reſpect; yet they are to be claſſed among the richeſt cities in Europe, and far beyond Rouen, Abbeville, Amiens, &c.— And were we to aſcribe it to the nearer vicinity of the capital, why has not the ſame cauſe eſtabliſhed a good huſbandry, as well as rents paid in money?—The fact, however, is certain, that thoſe three provinces, with Artois and Flanders, in which we ſhould not be ſurprized at any variation, as they were conquered from a free country, comparatively ſpeaking, are the only ones in the kingdom where this beneficial practice *generally* prevails. It is found, indeed, in a ſcattered and irregular manner elſewhere, but not eſtabliſhed as in thoſe provinces. That the poverty of the tenantry, which has given riſe to this miſchievous practice, has ariſen from the principles of an arbitrary government, cannot be doubted. Heavy taxes on the farmers, from which the nobility and clergy are exempt; and thoſe taxes levied arbitrarily, at the will of the Intendant and his ſubdelegués, have been ſufficient to impoveriſh the lower claſſes. One would naturally have ſuppoſed, from the groſs abuſes and cruelty of this method of taxation, that the object in view were as much to keep the people poor, as to make the king rich. As the taille was profeſſedly levied in proportion

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to every one's ſubſtance, it had the miſchievous effect of all *equal* land taxes, when levied even with honeſty; for a farmer's profit—his ſucceſs—his merit, was taxed exactly in proportion to the quantum; a ſure method of putting a period to the exiſtence of either profit, ſucceſs, or merit. The farmers are really poor, or apparently poor, ſince a rich man will affect poverty to eſcape the arbitrary riſe of a tax, which profeſſes to be in proportion to his power of bearing it: hence poor cattle, poor implements, and poor dung-hills, even on the farms of men who could afford the beſt. What a ruinous and deteſtable ſyſtem, and how ſurely calculated to ſtop the current of the wealth of the ſovereign, as well as of his people!—What man of common ſenſe and feeling, can lament the fall of a government that conducted itſelf on ſuch principles? And who can juſtly condemn the people for their violence, in wreſting from the nobility and clergy thoſe privileges and diſtinctions, which they had uſed ſo unworthily, to the depreſſion and ruin of all the inferior claſſes? Theſe taxes, united with the burthenſome and odious feudal rights and impoſitions of the ſeigneurs, prevented all inveſtment of capital, which could not be removed at pleaſure, from the land: the evil was not ſo much a general want of capital in the kingdom, as an apprehenſion of fixing it on land, where it would of neceſſity be expoſed to the rapine of regal and noble harpies; that this was the fact, we find from the caſe of the rich grazing diſtricts of Normandy,

where no want of capital was heard of, yet ſuch lands demand a larger ſum to ſtock than any other; a ſum equal to the ampleſt improvement of the pooreſt and moſt difficult ſoils. Why then ſhould not a proper ſtock be found on arable as well as on paſture lands? For an obvious reaſon; —the capital inveſted in fat oxen and ſheep is removeable at a moment's warning; and, being every year renewed, the grazier has an annual opportunity of withdrawing from buſineſs; he has conſequently a ſort of independence, utterly unknown to an arable farmer, who has the leaſt idea of improving his land, or of keeping a proper ſtock of implements and manure. The knowledge of this circumſtance keeps the tyrants in order, and makes them tender in impoſitions, which being evaded, would leave the moſt valuable land in the kingdom without the means of being rendered productive. Warmly as one muſt congratulate human feelings, upon a nation's throwing off the yoke of ſuch deteſtable burthens, we cannot but regret and condemn the idea of thoſe viſionary, ſyſtematic, pſeudo politicians, the *æconomiſtes*, which has ſo infected the National Aſſembly, as to allow the propoſal even to be received, of laying a *proportional* land-tax of thirteen million ſterling. This the preſent domocratic principles will certainly *keep proportional*, ſince it is the wealthy who can alone improve; and the poor, with power in their hands, will always take care to tax the improvements of the rich. If this new ſyſtem be not guarded with clauſes, of which no trace

appears

appears at preſent, the agriculture of the kingdom will no more be able to raiſe its head, than under the old ſyſtem. But this is not the place to diſcuſs that important queſtion. In regard to the beſt means of remedying the evils of metaying, they certainly conſiſt in the proprietor's farming his own lands till improved, and then letting them at a money rent, without the ſtock, if he can find farmers to hire; but if not, lending the ſtock at intereſt. Thus favoured, the farmers would, under a good government and eaſed of tythes, preſently grow rich, and, in all probability, would, for the moſt part, free themſelves from the debt in twenty-five or thirty years; and, with good huſbandry, even in a ſingle leaſe of twenty-one years; but with their preſent wretched ſyſtems of cropping, and deficiency of cattle and ſheep, they would be a century effecting it. If a landlord could not, or would not, farm himſelf, the next method would be, to let live ſtock and land at a money rent, for twenty-one years, the tenant, at the expiration, paying him in money the original value of the live ſtock, and ſubject to all hazards and loſſes. There can be no doubt but ſuch a ſyſtem, with a good mode of taxation and freedom from tythes, would enable the metayer in that term to become at leaſt capable of carrying on his buſineſs, without any aſſiſtance in future from his landlord.

II. *Size*

II. *Size of Farms.*

I have treated at large of this ſubject in my Tours through England, and in the *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. vii. p. 510; at preſent, therefore, I ſhall briefly touch upon ſome circumſtances more peculiarly ariſing from the huſbandry of France. I ſhall begin by aſſerting, with confidence, that I never ſaw a ſingle inſtance of good huſbandry on a ſmall farm, except on ſoils of the greateſt fertility. Flanders is always an exception; on that rich, deep, and putrid ſoil, in the exuberant plain of Alſace, and in the deep and fertile borders of the Garonne, the land is ſo good, that it muſt be perverſity alone that than contrive very bad huſbandry; but on all inferior ſoils, that is to ſay, through nine-tenths of the kingdom, and in ſome inſtances even on very rich land, as, for inſtance, in Normandy, the huſbandry is execrable. I may farther obſerve, that whenever bad management is found in thoſe rich and well cultivated diſtricts, it is ſure to be found on ſmall farms. When, therefore, I obſerved in many *cahiers* of the three orders, a demand to limit the ſize of farms, and great panegyricks on ſmall ones, I could not but conclude, that the townſmen who drew up thoſe inſtructions knew nothing of the practice of agriculture, except the vulgar errors which float in every country upon that ſub-

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ject *. This inquiry is of ſo much importance to every nation, that it ought to depend as much as poſſible on facts, and of courſe to be handled by thoſe only who practice agriculture as well as underſtand it. The following queſtions naturally ariſe. Is it the groſs produce of huſbandry that ſhould chiefly be conſidered? Or the greateſt produce that can be carried to market? Or is it the net profit? Should the populouſneſs ariſing from cultivation be the guide? Or ſhould the eaſe and happineſs of the cultivators be only had in view? Theſe queſtions might be multiplied, but they are ſufficient for unfolding the inquiry. It will probably be found, that no one point is ſingly to be attended to, but an aggregate of all, in due proportions.

I. The groſs produce cannot be alone conſidered, for this ſimple reaſon, that ſo many hands may be employed to raiſe the largeſt, as to afford none for market; in which caſe there could be no towns, no manufactures, but merely domeſtic ones; no army, no navy, no ſhipping. Such an arrangement, though perfectly conſiſtent with the count de Mirabeau's ſyſtem, of an equal diſperſion of a people over their whole territory, is yet ſo truly viſionary, that it does not demand a moment's attention.

II. The net profit of huſbandry cannot poſſibly be the guide, becauſe the moſt uncultivated ſpots

* *Cahier de Dourdon*, p. 17. *Crepy*, p. 5.—*Eſtampes*, p. 27.—*Paris*, p. 41.—*Provins and Montereaux*, p. 51.

may

may be attended with a greater net profit on the capital employed, than the richeſt gardens; as a mere warren, ſheep-walk, &c.

III. Populouſneſs cannot be a ſafe guide in the inquiry, becauſe if it be alone attended to, it infallibly deſtroys itſelf by exceſs of miſery. There can be no merit in any ſyſtem that breeds people to ſtarve; food and employment (towns) muſt, therefore, be in view as well as people.

IV. The eaſe and happineſs of cultivators alone cannot be our guide, becauſe they may be eaſier and happier in the midſt of a howling deſert, than in the gardens of Montreuil.

V. I am not abſolutely ſatisfied with the *greateſt produce that can be carried to market*, but it comes infinitely nearer to the truth than any of the reſt; it includes a conſiderable groſs produce; it implies a great net profit; and indicates, exactly in proportion to its amount, that populouſneſs which is found in towns, and that which ought to depend on manufactures; it ſecures the eaſe of the cultivating claſſes; it enables the farmer to employ much labour, and, what is of more conſequence, to pay it well.

This leading propoſition, being thus far ſatisfactorily aſcertained, on compariſon with the others, we are able to determine that that ſize of farms is moſt beneficial, in general, which ſecures the greateſt produce *in the market*; or, in other words, converted into money. Now, in order thus to command a great ſurplus, above what

what is conſumed by men and their families employed or depending on the cultivation, every ſpecies of good huſbandry muſt be exerted Lands already in culture muſt be kept improving; great ſtocks of cattle and ſheep ſupported; every ſort of manure that can be procured uſed plentifully; draining, irrigating, folding, hoeing, marling, claying, liming, incloſing, all muſt be exerted with activity and vigour:—no ſcrap of waſte land left in a neglected ſtate:—all improved; all puſhing forward towards perfection; and the farmer encouraged, by the profit of his undertakings, to inveſt his ſavings in freſh exertions, that he may receive that compound intereſt ſo practicable for the good farmer. The ſized farm that beſt effects all theſe works, will certainly carry to market the greateſt ſurplus produce. I have attended, with great care and impartiality, to the reſult of this inquiry throughout the kingdom; and though in many provinces the huſbandry is ſo infamouſly bad, as to yield a choice only of evils, yet I may ſafely aſſert, that on farms of 300 to 600 acres, it is infinitely better than on little ones, and ſupplies the market with a produce beyond all compariſon ſuperior. But by farms I mean always *occupations*, and by no means ſuch as are hired by middle men to re-let to little metayers. There is nothing ſtrange in the bad huſbandry ſo common on little farms; by which I mean ſuch as are under 100 arpents, and even from 100 to 200; thoſe proportions between the ſtock and labour, and the land, by which practi-

cal men will underſtand what I mean, are on ſuch farms unfavourable. The man is poor; and no poor farmer can make thoſe exertions that are demanded for good huſbandry *; and his poverty is neceſſarily in proportion to the ſmallneſs of his farm. The profit of a large farm ſupports the farmer and his family, and leaves a ſurplus which may be laid out in improvements; that of a ſmall tract of land will do no more than ſupport the farmer, and leaves nothing for improvements. With the latter the horſes are more numerous than with the former, and in a proportion that abridges much of the profit. The diviſion of labour, which in every purſuit of induſtry gives ſkill and diſpatch, cannot indeed take place on the greateſt farms in the degree in which it is found in manufactures; but upon ſmall farms it does not take place at all:—the ſame man, by turns, applies to every work of the farm; upon the larger occupation there are ploughmen, threſhers, hedgers, ſhepherds, cow-herds, ox-herds, hog-herds, lime burners, drainers, and irrigators:—this circumſtance is of conſiderable importance, and decides that every work will be better performed on a large than on a ſmall farm; one of the greateſt engines of good huſbandry, a ſheep-fold, is either to be found on a large farm only,

* "Wealth," ſays a French writer, "in the hands of farmers becomes fatal to agriculture." *Eſſai ſur l'état de la culture Belgique.* 8vo. 1784. p. 7. Who can wonder at a kingdom being ill cultivated, that abounds with ſuch politicians?

or at an expence of labour which *deſtroys the profit*. It has often been urged, that ſmall farms are greater nurſeries of population, in many inſtances this is the caſe, and they are often pernicious exactly in that proportion; prolific in miſery; and breeding mouths without yielding a produce to feed them. In France, population, outſtripping the demand, is a public nuiſance, and ought to be carefully diſcouraged; but of this fact, glaring through the whole kingdom, more in another chapter. The farms I ſhould prefer in France would be 250 to 350 acres upon rich ſoils; and 400 to 600 upon poorer ones.

England has made, upon the whole, a much greater progreſs in agriculture than any other country in Europe; and great farms have abſolutely done the whole: inſomuch, that we have not a capital improvement that is ever found on a ſmall one. Let foreigners——let the count de Hertzberg* come to England and view our

* That Miniſter ſays, in one of his diſcourſes to the Academy of Berlin, "Ceſt le principe que le cultivateur Anglois Young ſoutient, dans ſon Arithmetique Politique, ſur l'utilité des grandes fermes. M. Young paroît avoir tort à l'egard d'un gouvernement republicain tel que celui de la Grande Bretagne, qui a plus beſoin qu'un autre d'une grande population." Here, as in many inſtances, it is ſuppoſed, that large farms are unfavourable to population, becauſe their produce is conſumed in towns. Has the count given any reaſon to make us believe, that the produce of a large farm conſumed in a town, does not imply a population proportioned to its quantity, as well as the produce of a ſmall farm, which is conſumed by the people that raiſe it? As population

huſbandry:——let me have the honour of ſhewing him that of our large farms, and then let Dr. Price conduct him to that of our ſmall ones: when he has viewed both, he will find no difficulty in drawing concluſions very different from thoſe which he has hitherto patronized. We have in England brought to perfection the management of incloſing, marling, claying, and every ſpecies of manuring. We have made great advances in irrigation; and ſhould, perhaps, have equalled Lombardy, if the liberty of the people would have allowed as ready a treſpaſs on private property. We have carried the breeding of cattle and ſheep to a greater perfection, than any country in the world ever yet experienced. We have, in our beſt managed diſtricts, baniſhed fallows: and, what is the great glory of our iſland, the beſt huſbandry is found on our pooreſt ſoils. Let me demand, of the advocates for ſmall farms, where the little farmer is to be found who will cover his whole farm with marl, at the rate of 100 to 150 tons per acre? who will drain all his land at the expence of two or three pounds an

is in proportion to food, thoſe who urge that great farms are injurious, ſhould ſhew that ſmall ones raiſe a greater quantity; that is, are better cultivated: ſurely the aſſertion implies too groſs an abſurdity to be ventured. Frederic, who attained the title of Great, on account of his ſuperior ſkill in the arts of ſlaughtering men, was, on military principles, a friend to breeding them.——"conſiderant que le nombre des habitants fait la richeſſe des ſouverains on trouva——" &c. *Oeuvre de Fred.* II. Tom. v. p. 146.

acre? who will pay a heavy price for the manure of towns, and convey it thirty miles by land carriage? who will float his meadows at the expence of 5l. per acre? who, to improve the breed of his ſheep, will give 1000 guineas for the *uſe* of a ſingle ram for a ſingle ſeaſon? who will give 25 guineas per cow for being covered by a fine bull? who will ſend acroſs the kingdom to diſtant provinces for new implements, and for men to uſe them? who employ and pay men for reſiding in provinces, where practices are found which they want to introduce on their farms?—At the very mention of ſuch exertions, common in England, what mind can be ſo perverſely framed as to imagine, for a ſingle moment, that SUCH THINGS are to be effected by *little farmers?*—Deduct from agriculture all the practices that have made it flouriſhing in this iſland, and you have preciſely the management of ſmall farms.

The falſe ideas, at preſent ſo common in France, are the more ſurpriſing, as no language abounds, with juſter ſentiments on many of theſe queſtions of political œconomy than the French. There cannot be juſter, truer, or more appoſite remarks on the advantage of great farms and rich farmers, than in the Encyclopædie *. Nor can any one write better on the ſubject than M. Delegorgue †. Artois, he obſerves, was univerſally under two

* Tom. 7, p. 821. Folio.

† Mem, ſur cette queſtion: Eſt-il utile en Artois de Diviſer les Fermes? 1786. p. 7.

crops

crops and a fallow; but changed to a crop every year, by the old cuſtoms being aboliſhed. So beneficial an alteration, not common in France, was founded on many and expenſive experiments, which could be eſtabliſhed only by means of the manures gained from large flocks and herds. By whom was this change effected?—by little farmers, who can hardly effect their own ſupport?—Aſſuredly not. He further obſerves, that ſome parts of Artois are divided for the ſake of a higher rent, and cattle are there ſenſibly decreaſed; alſo, that a country labourer is much happier than a little farmer. And I give him no ſlight credit for his obſervation, that little farmers are not able to keep their corn; and that all monopolies are in conſequence of them; implying, that great farmers keeping back their corn is beneficial; but monopolies are equally beneficial; and tend as advantageouſly to remedy the evils that flow from little farmers being in too great a hurry to ſell.

But however clearly I may be convinced of the infinite ſuperiority of large farms, and that no country can ever be highly improved, by means of ſmall ones, yet I am very far from recommending any laws or regulations to enforce the union of ſeveral. I contend for nothing but freedom; and for the rejection of thoſe abſurd and prepoſterous demands, in ſome of the French *cahiers*, for laws *againſt* ſuch an union. And let me add, that little attention ſhould be paid to thoſe writers and politicians, who, under deſpotic governments,

vernments, are ſo ſtrenuous for a great population, as to be blind to much ſuperior objects; who ſee nothing in the propagation of mankind but the means of increaſing ſoldiers; who admire ſmall farms as the nurſeries of ſlaves—and think it a worthy object of policy to breed men to miſery, that they may be inliſted, or ſtarve. Such ſentiments may be congenial with the keen atmoſphere of German deſpotiſm; but that they ſhould find their way into a nation, whoſe proſpects are cheared by the brighter beams of new-born liberty, is a contradiction to that general felicity which ought to flow from freedom. Much too populous to be happy, France ſhould ſeek the means of feeding the numbers which ſhe hath, inſtead of breeding more to ſhare a too ſcanty pittance.

III. *Small Properties.*

In the preceding obſervations, I have had rented farms only in view; but there is another ſort which abounds in almoſt every part of France, of which we cannot form an idea from what we ſee in England——I mean ſmall properties; that is, little farms, belonging to thoſe who cultivate them. The number is ſo great, that I am inclined to ſuppoſe more than one-third of the kingdom occupied by them. Before I travelled, I conceived that ſmall farms, in property, were very ſuſceptible of good cultivation; and that the occupier of ſuch, having no rent to pay, might be ſufficiently at his eaſe to work improvements, and carry on a vigorous

rous huſbandry; but what I have ſeen in France, has greatly leſſened my good opinion of them. In Flanders, I ſaw excellent huſbandry on properties of 30 to 100 acres; but we ſeldom find here ſuch ſmall patches of property, as are common in other provinces. In Alſace, and on the Garonne, that is, on ſoils of ſuch exuberant fertility as to demand no exertions, ſome ſmall properties alſo are well cultivated. In Bearn, I paſſed through a region of little farms, whoſe appearance, neatneſs, eaſe, and happineſs, charmed me; it was what property alone could, on a ſmall ſcale, effect; but theſe were by no means contemptibly ſmall; they are as I judged by the diſtance from houſe to houſe, from 40 to 80 acres. Except theſe, and a very few other inſtances, I ſaw nothing reſpectable on ſmall properties, except a moſt unremitting induſtry. Indeed, it is neceſſary to impreſs on the reader's mind, that though the huſbandry I met with, in a great variety of inſtances on little properties, was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the induſtry of the poſſeſſors was ſo conſpicuous, and ſo meritorious, that no commendations would be too great for it. It was ſufficient to prove, that the property in land is, of all others, the moſt active inſtigator to ſevere and inceſſant labour. And this truth is of ſuch force and extent, that I know no way ſo ſure of carrying tillage to a mountain-top, as by permitting the adjoining villagers to acquire it in property; in fact, we ſee that, in the mountains of Languedoc, &c. they have conveyed earth in baſkets, on their backs, to form a ſoil

where

where nature had denied it. Another circumſtance attending ſmall properties, is the increaſe of population; but what may be advantageous to other countries, may be a misfortune to France.

Having, in this manner, admitted the merit, of ſuch ſmall farms in property, I ſhall, in the next place, ſtate the inconveniences I have obſerved to reſult from them in France.

The firſt and greateſt, is the diviſion which univerſally takes place after the death of the proprietor, commonly amongſt all the children, but in ſome diſtricts amongſt the ſons only. Forty or fifty acres in property are not incapable of good huſbandry; but when divided, twenty acres *muſt* be ill cultivated; again divided, they become farms of ten acres, of five, of two, and even one; and I have ſeen ſome of half, and even a quarter of a rood, with a family as much attached to it, as if it were an hundred acres. The population flowing from this diviſion, is, in ſome caſes, great, but it is the multiplication of wretchedneſs. Couples marry and procreate on the *idea*, not the *reality*, of a maintenance; they increaſe beyond the demand of towns and manufactures; and the conſequence is, diſtreſs, and numbers dying of diſeaſes, ariſing from inſufficient nouriſhment. Hence, therefore, ſmall properties, much divided, prove the greateſt ſource of miſery that can be conceived; and this has operated to ſuch an extent and degree in France, that a law undoubtedly ought to be paſſed, to render all diviſion, below a certain number of arpents, illegal. But what are we, in this view of the ſubject, drawn

from actual and multiplied obſervations, to think of the men who contend, that the property of land cannot be too much divided? That a country is flouriſhing in proportion to the equal diſperſion of the people over their territory, is the opinion of one celebrated leader * in the National Aſſembly; but his father was of different ſentiments; with great good ſenſe and deep reflection he declares, that that culture does not moſt favour po-

* *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne*, tom. iv. p. 13. The count de Mirabeau in this paſſage agrees, that great farms, upon a given ſpace of land, will yield the greateſt poſſible production, at the leaſt poſſible expence, but contends, that there is a multitude of little objects, which eſcape the great farmer, of much more conſequence than ſaving expences. It is incredible that a man of ſuch decided talents ſhould ſo utterly miſtake the facts that govern a queſtion, to which he has given much attention, at leaſt if we are to judge by his recurring to it ſo often. Where does he find the fact upon which he builds all his reaſoning, that little farmers make larger inveſtments and expences than great farmers? I will not appeal to England, in which the queſtion is determined as ſoon as named; but I ſhould wiſh to be informed, in what provinces of France the little farmers have their lands as well ſtocked as great ones? or as well cultivated? M. de Mirabeau completely begs the queſtion, in ſuppoſing what is directly contrary to fact, ſince the advances of the great farms are more conſiderable, perhaps the double of thoſe of the little ones; I am ſure it is ſo in every part of the kingdom in which I have been. But the Count goes on to ſtate, how ſuperior the little farms are, becauſe ſo many more families are found on the land, which is preciſely the moſt powerful argument againſt them, as that merit admitted, implies at once the annihilation of towns and manufactures being beneficial to a modern ſtate, provided the people be found in the country; a poſition I have ſufficiently anſwered in the text.

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pulation which employs moſt hands *; "c'eſt à bien des égards un prejugé de croire, que plus la culture occupe d'hommes plus elle eſt favourable à la population;" meaning, that the ſurplus of product carried to market is as favourable to population, by feeding towns, as if eaten on the fields that produced it, *ainſi plus l' induſtrie & la richeſſe des entre preneurs de la culture épargne de travail d'hommes, plus la culture fournit à la ſubſiſtance d'autres hommes.* Another deputy, high in general eſtimation, and at the head of the committee of finances, aſſerts, that the greateſt poſſible diviſion of land property is the beſt. Such gentlemen, with the beſt intentions, ſpread opinions, which, if fully embraced, would make all France a ſcene of beggary and wretchedneſs. Amidſt a maſs of moſt uſeful knowledge, of deep and juſt reflections, and true political principles, a tendency to ſimilar ideas is found in the reports of the committee of *Mendicité* †, in which the multiplication of little properties is conſidered as a reſource againſt miſery. Nothing more is neceſſary, than to extend ſuch ideas, by ſuppoſition to fact, to ſhew their real ten-

* *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. tom. v. p 43. See alſo tom. vi. p. 79. *Tableau Oeconomique.* See the ſame ſubject, handled with much ability, by one of the greateſt political geniuſſes of the preſent age, *De L'Oeconomie Politique*, par Monſ. Herrenſchwand, 8vo. 1786. p. 275. And *Diſcours ſur la diviſion des Terres.* 8vo. 1786. Par le meme.

† *Premier Rapport.* 8vo. 1790. p. 6. *Quatrieme Rapport.* p. 9. Theſe reports were made by the chairman, M. de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, and do very great honour to his abilities and his induſtry.

dency. There are 130 millions of acres; and at leaſt 25 millions of people in France. Aſſign, therefore, to each perſon, its ſhare of that extent: call it (allowing for rocks, rivers, roads, &c.) five acres each, or 25 acres per family. When, by the firſt principles of the idea, which is that of encouraging population, the luxury, celibacy, unhealthy employments, proſtitution and ſterility of cities, are removed, and the plain manners of the country are univerſally eſtabliſhed, every circumſtance in nature carries the people to marriage and procreation: a great increaſe takes place; and the 25 acres gradually, by diviſion, become 20, 15, 12, 8, and ſo on, perpetually leſſening. What, on ſuch a ſuppoſition, is to become of the ſuperfluity of people?——You preſently arrive at the limit beyond which the earth, cultivate it as you pleaſe, will feed no more mouths; yet thoſe ſimple manners, which inſtigate to marriage, ſtill continue:—what then is the conſequence, but the moſt dreadful miſery imaginable!—You ſoon would exceed the populouſneſs of China, where the putrid carcaſſes of dogs, cats, rats, and every ſpecies of filth and vermin, are ſought with avidity, to ſuſtain the life of wretches who were born only to be ſtarved. Such are the infallible effects of carrying into execution a too minute diviſion of landed property. No country upon earth is curſed with ſo bad a government as that would be, which aimed ſeriouſly at ſuch a diviſion; ſo ruinous is that population, which ariſes from principles pure and virtuous in their origin, but leads directly to the extremes of human

human miſery!—Great cities have been called the graves of the human ſpecies: if they conduct eaſily to the grave, they become the beſt *euthanaſia* of too much populouſneſs. They are more apt to prevent increaſe than to deſtroy, which is preciſely the effect wanted in ſuch a country as France, where the diviſion of property has unhappily nurſed up a population, which ſhe cannot feed; what, therefore, would be the miſery, if cities and towns ſupported their numbers, and left the whole ſurplus of the country regorging in the cottages?—This is too much the caſe for the happineſs of the kingdom, as we ſee in a thouſand circumſtances, and particularly in the diſtreſs ariſing from the leaſt failure in the crops; ſuch a deficiency, as in England paſſes almoſt without notice, in France is attended with dreadful calamities. There cannot be a more pleaſing ſpectacle, or better framed to call into animation the ſympathies of our nature, than that of a family living on a little property, which their induſtry cultivates, and perhaps created: it is this object, ſo touching to the beſt feelings of the human boſom, that has certainly made many writers indiſcriminate advocates for ſmall properties. If the induſtry of towns and manufactures were active enough to demand the ſurplus of all this population as faſt as it aroſe, the advantages of the ſyſtem would be clear; but France knows, by ſad experience, that ſuch a ſurplus is not demanded at preſent; what, therefore, would the conſequence be of bringing a freſh one to market, while the old one remains on hand? It is idle to

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cite the example of America, where an immenſity of fertile land lies open to every one who will accept it; and where population is valuable to an unexampled degree, as we ſee in the price of their labour; but what compariſon, between ſuch a country and France, where the competition for employment is ſo great, ariſing from too great a populouſneſs, that the price of labour is 76 per cent. below that of its more flouriſhing neighbour?——But, in conſidering this intereſting ſubject, I ſhall recur, as I have done on ſo many other occaſions, to the example of England. In this kingdom, ſmall properties are exceedingly rare; in great numbers of our counties, there is ſcarcely any ſuch thing to be found: Our labouring poor are juſtly emulous of being the proprietors of their cottages, and of that ſcrap of land, a few perches, which form the garden; but they ſeldom think of buying land enough to employ themſelves; and, as in France, of offering prices ſo much beyond the value, as to enſure the acquiſition; a man that has two or three hundred pounds with us, does not buy a little field, but ſtocks a farm: now, as our labouring poor are incomparably more at their eaſe, and in every reſpect happier than thoſe of France, does it not appear to follow, by fair concluſion, that ſmall properties are by no means neceſſary for the welfare of the lower claſſes in the country? in every part of England, in which I have been, there is no compariſon between the caſe of a day-labourer and of a very little farmer; we have no people that work ſo hard, and fare ſo ill, as the latter. Why then ſhould

ſhould this minute diviſion be conſidered as ſo advantageous in France, while we in England feel the benefit of a ſyſtem directly contrary? There are ſeveral reaſons for this; the manufactures of France, compared with thoſe of England, are not nearly ſo conſiderable reſpectively, in proportion to the population of the two kingdoms. Nor does the agriculture of France, which is carried on either by farmers or metayers, afford any employment comparable to that which Engliſh culture yields. Country gentlemen, in France, do not employ probably the hundredth part of the labourers that are employed by country gentlemen in England, who have always ſome works of ornamental gardening or farming going on, which gives bread to many people. An object, more important, is, that the prices of proviſions are as dear in France as in England, while thoſe of labour are 76 per cent. lower. We have another proof, if any were wanted, how much too great the population of that kingdom is. The Engliſh labourer, who commands ſteadily eight, nine, or ten ſhillings a week, by working for a farmer, hazards much when he labours land for himſelf; and this fact is ſo ſtrong, that the moſt induſtrious and hard labouring of our poor peaſants, are not thoſe who keep their gardens in the beſt order and cultivation; but ſuch, on the contrary, as make inferior earnings, that mark ſomething of debility. By means of theſe, and various other cauſes, the poor countrymen in England find a much more regular employment by day labour than thoſe of France, who,

who, having no reſource in working for others, are obliged to work for themſelves, or ſtarve. And when gentlemen find them in this ſituation, no wonder they readily expatiate on the advantages of ſmall properties being to ſuch families the only reſource that offers. But, in fact, the very height of operoſe culture upon ſuch, and what appears perfection to a vulgar eye, can ariſe only from the miſery of half employed people. The dearneſs of labour, very common in ſuch a country, is no proof againſt this obſervation. No labour is ſo wretchedly performed, and ſo dear, as that of hired hands accuſtomed much to labour for themſelves; there is a diſguſt, and a liſtleſſneſs that cannot eſcape an intelligent obſerver; and nothing but real diſtreſs will drive ſuch little proprietors to work at all for others; ſo that I have ſeen, in the operoſely cultivated parts of France, labour comparatively dear, and ill performed, amidſt ſwarms of half idle people. And here I ſhould remark, the circumſtance ſeen to ſo ſtrange a degree in almoſt all the markets of France, that ſwarms of people regularly loſe one day in a week, for objects that clearly ſhew of how little value time is of to theſe ſmall farmers. Can any thing be apparently ſo abſurd, as a ſtrong, hearty man walking ſome miles, and loſing a day's work, which ought to be worth 15 or 20*ſ.* in order to ſell a dozen of eggs, or a chicken, the value of which would not equal the labour of conveying it, *were the people uſefully employed?* This ought to convince us, that theſe ſmall occupations are a real loſs of labour; and that

people

people are fed upon them, whoſe time is worth little or nothing.

There are many practices in French huſbandry, that are apparently of conſiderable merit, yet cannot be recommended to other countries. I have ſeen them, in a part of Flanders, mattocking up every corner of a field where the plough could not come; and in the ſouth of France, the peaſant makes a common practice of mattocking up whole fields. In many parts of the kingdom all the land is digged. In the mountains of the Vivarais, terraces are built by walling, and the earth carried to them in baſkets. Such practices, and a thouſand other ſimilar, ſpring abſolutely from the extreme diviſion of landed property, having nurſed up a population beyond the power of induſtry to ſupport; and ought to be conſidered as a proof of a real evil in the vitals of the ſtate. The man who unhappily has exiſtence in a country where there is no employment for him, will, if he has the property of a ſcrap of land, work for two-pence a day upon it; he will work for half a farthing; and, if he has an ardour of induſtry, for nothing, as thouſands do in France. If he does not perform ſome buſineſs, upon his little farm, he thinks he does nothing; in ſuch a ſituation, he will pick ſtraws——he will take up a ſtone here, and lay it there: he will carry earth in a baſket to the top of a mountain; he will walk ten miles to ſell an egg. Is it not obvious to the reader, that ſuch practices exiſting, and, if tolerably directed, producing an effect well calculated to com-

mand admiration from an extreme of culture, are in reality no more analagous to a well conſtituted country, if I may venture the expreſſion, than would the moſt prepoſterous practices to be fancied. You might as well go a ſtep farther in population, and hold up, with M. de Poivre, the example of the Chineſe, as worthy of European imitation.

Upon the whole, one muſt be inclined to think, that ſmall properties are carried much too far in France; that a moſt miſerable population has been created by them, which ought to have had no exiſtence; that their diviſion ſhould be reſtrained by expreſs laws, at leaſt till the demand for hands is equal to the production; that the ſyſtem of great farmers regularly employing, and well paying a numerous peaſantry by day labour, is infinitely more advantageous to the nation, and to the poor themſelves, than the multiplication of ſmall properties; in fine, it is obvious, that all meaſures which prevent the eſtabliſhment of large farms, and wealthy farmers, ſuch as reſtrictions or bars to incloſures, the exiſtence of rights of commonage, and the leaſt favour to little proprietors in levying of the land taxes, are ruinous to agriculture, and ought to be deprecated, as a ſyſtem deſtructive of the public welfare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Sheep of France.

THE eſtabliſhment of the woollen manufactures in France, in the reign of Lewis XIV.; or, more properly ſpeaking, by that clerk of a counting houſe, Colbert, rendered government ſomewhat ſolicitous to encourage the breed of ſheep in the kingdom; but no material ſteps were taken for that purpoſe, till the middle of the preſent centutry, when the free export was allowed, very wiſely to encourage their production. Under the controller general, Monſ. de Bertin, Monſ. Carlier was ſent through all the provinces, to examine the flocks, the quantity and quality of the wool, &c.; and ſome progreſs was ſoon after made in importing both from Spain and England, rams and ewes, in order to improve the breed of the French ſheep; but the people that were employed, underſtood the buſineſs ſo little, that theſe efforts were not attended with any effect: they were indeed not reſpectable ones, and therefore the reſult was juſt as might have been expected. France imports of wool to the amount of 27,000,000 liv. a year; an enormous ſum for a commodity every pound of which might be produced in the kingdom, if

the proper means were uſed in the employment of people who really underſtand ſheep.

PICARDY.—*Calais.*—Fleece 5lb. at 26*ſ.* of a combing ſort.

Bonbrie.—Fleece 6lb. at 24*ſ.*

Bernay.—Fleece 4½ lb. at 26*ſ.*; very coarſe; clip their lambs; 18*ſ.* per lb.; the ſheep of the whole province of Picardy, and ſeveral of the neighbouring ones, are all without horns; have white faces; and hanging ſilky ears; all I felt handled badly, and were ill made, but ſome have rather a better appearance.

PAYS DE BAUCE.—*Eſtampes.*—Fleece 3½ lb. at 20*ſ.*; price of a ſheep 15 liv.

Toury.—Fleece 4lb. at 19*ſ.*; coarſe; winter food, pea-ſtraw and ſecond-crop hay; all are ſhut up (as in moſt parts of France) in ſtables at night, and folded in the fields till November; ſome fold alſo at noon in ſummer; flocks from forty to one hundred; the dogs conduct them with ſuch dexterity, that the narroweſt baulks are fed without injury to the corn.

Orleans.—Fleece 6lb. at 20*ſ.* Price of a ſheep 11 liv. All are fed in the winter with ſtraw.

SOLOGNE—*La Ferté.*—Breed of Berry 2½lb. at 23*ſ.* *en ſuint*, and 40*ſ.* waſhed; price of a ſheep 12 liv.; have nothing in winter to feed on but heaths and woods; kept in ſtables every night, to be ſecured from wolves, and when the ſnow is deep they are fed with branches of trees; a farmer that has 200 arpents under the plough, and

300 of heath, will have from 200 to 250 ſheep and lambs.

La Motte Beuvron.—Feed them in ſtables with rye-ſtraw, but they ate only the ears. I found a farmer's flock in the ſtable at three o'clock in the afternoon; it was not at all open, and much too hot. During the ſummer they are brought home at twelve o'clock, to ſtarve and ſweat till four, when they are ſent out again, and at night houſed regularly. The breed reſembles that of Picardy in the face and ears, but are much ſmaller, not weighing above 9lb. a quarter.

La Loge.—The rot common; one farmer loſt 199 in 200, one black ſheep only eſcaping; they are in the common ſyſtem of ſelling annually the wether lambs, part of the ewe lambs, and the old ewes, keeping enough of the lambs to reinſtate the ewes ſold. It is uſual to ſeparate the lambs from the ewes, in order to milk the latter for butter and cheeſe, which the family conſumes. The ſheep-houſe is cleaned but twice a year, but clean ſtraw given every third day; all theſe houſes are ſo cloſe and hot that it is aſtoniſhing the ſheep are not all deſtroyed.

BERRY—*Verſon.*—Fleece $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 22*ſ. en ſuint*; price of ſheep 6 liv,; they are very ſmall, not more than 6lb. a quarter, and a few goats in every flock; three rams they reckon neceſſary for 100 ewes; a good ram ſells for 24 liv.; an old lean ewe 3 to 5 liv. when fat 8 liv.; the wool in the part of the province called Champagne, where flocks are very large, is far better than here, by reaſon, as they imagine,

imagine, of the land being ſtronger, and the paſture more nouriſhing; the reſemblance to the Picardy breed would make one ſuppoſe them of the ſame ſtock; the food here, as elſewhere, ſtraw in winter, and when the weather is bad 1lb. of hay per ſheep per diem*. fleece $1\frac{3}{4}$lb. at 27*ſ. en ſuint*; price $7\frac{1}{2}$ liv.

Vatan to Chateauroux.—Fleece $2\frac{1}{2}$lb at 23*ſ. en ſuint*; laſt year 27*ſ.*—Fleece 3lb. at 25*ſ. en ſuint.*—Fleece 2lb. at $23\frac{1}{2}$*ſ. en ſuint*; price 9 liv; wool ten years ago was 15 to 20*ſ.* Some ſeigneurs, in order to improve the wool, imported rams and ewes from Spain, which degenerated, and became like the natives in four years; on the other hand, ſheep of a worſe kind than thoſe of the country, improve in the ſame proportion by living and paſturing here: I ſtate the information as I received it. In all probability theſe trials were made in the ſame careleſs manner as ſo many others. They have alſo another ſort of ſheep, with horns, which come from the hills, and are called *balloes*; are bought only for fattening, at 8 to 10 liv. and are then ſold at 15 liv.; they are larger than the common breed; are ſpotted black and white; have good carcaſes, but coarſe wool.

Argentan.—Wool at 25*ſ. en ſuint* coarſe.——

* Monſ. de Lamerville ſays, that the beſt ſheep of Berry are thoſe called *Briounes*, from the name of the chief place where they are found; that the Berry ſheep give $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of wool, at 20*ſ.* and that the lambs ſell at 7 liv. each. *Obſervations ſur les Bêtes a Laine*, 8vo. 1786. P. 6, 218, 219.

Fleece

Fleece 1lb. at 24*s.* per lb.—Fleece $3\frac{1}{2}$lb. at 20*s.* per lb.; price 8 liv.

La Marche—*La Ville au Brun.*—Fleece 1lb. at 20*s.*

Limosin—*Limoges.*—They are the ſmalleſt breed I have ever ſeen, and poor miſerable looking animals; but both mutton and wool good.

Quercy—*Brive to Souillac.*—Meet ſome ſheep of larger breed than the Limoſin, with very coarſe long wool; black ſheep are very prevalent here.—Fleece $4\frac{1}{2}$lb. at 12*s. en ſuint*; ſometimes fatten them on turnips.—Fleece $5\frac{1}{2}$lb. at 12*s.* ‡ *en ſuint.* Here ſee, for the firſt time, ſmall ſheep folds made with hurdles; a ſmall hut of ſtraw for the ſhepherd, on two poles to carry about; and a little one for his dog. They are now folding for turnips, called here *ravules.*

Pont de Rodez.—Wool 13*s.*; ſeveral ſheep in all the flocks, with tufts of wool left about their necks and ſhoulders; on inquiry, found that it is left, on account of ſuperior value, to be clipped by itſelf; ſelling at 14*s.* the pound, the reſt at 12*s.*

Pellecoy.—No lambs clipped ſince I left the Limoſin. Meaſured a ſheep-fold ſeven yards by ſix; there were thirty-ſix ſheep and five lambs in it; they ſeem, therefore, to allow a ſquare yard per head; the ſhepherd was abſent, but the dog

† In theſe notes, wherever more minutes than one are entered, they are taken at the diſtance of ſome miles.

was

was left in charge of them. Here they say the tufts of wool are not left for the value, but through a kind of fancy; I suspect something of superstition in it. Every farmer has a few sheep, because the smallest parcel will yield wool to cloath the family; an idea which supposes poverty, and a want of national circulation.

Cahors.—See many sheep-folds; the shepherd's house is something like a tall bee-hive on two handles, to move as a sedan, and a little one for his dog. Having many wolves, they arm their dogs with collars, stuck with iron spikes, for the wolf never attacks them in any other place than the neck. The sheep at this time of the year are folded abroad all night, as their enemy is close in his recesses, the forests and rocky steeps, where they live upon hares, rabbits, rats, and even mice.

Perges.—The sheep with and without horns; a small breed and coarse wool: they are not yet sheared (June 12).

Languedoc—*Tolouse.*—See several flocks, all of horned sheep, for the first time from Calais; horned ones with thick fleeces, I guess 5lb.; see some fine large heavy ones so fat and broad, that when laid down, it was with some difficulty they raised themselves; they are sheared, but some with wool left along the belly, and others with a tuft left on the rump.

St. Gaudents.—Are kept from June till autumn on the hills, the roots of the Pyrenees; and put at night into strong folds, and guarded by many dogs.

Bagnere.

Bagnere de Luchon.—Some attempts have been made to improve the breed in this part of the Pyrenees, by the import of Spaniſh rams; old ewes and weathers here are ſold into Spain.

ROUSILLON—*Bellegarde to Perpignan,*—Large flocks of ſheep, both horned and polled, with ſome black ones.—Ditto polled; white faces, and white legs; about 12lb. a quarter.—They give 6 to 8 lb. of wool unwaſhed; waſhing reduces it to 2lb.—Fleece 2lb. at a39*ſ.* waſhed.—They are kept in the open air the whole year. Are now (July) in ſtubbles, which will be ploughed up in September, and ſown with rye for their winter paſturage.—Meet a flock of near 500, belonging to a man in Perpignan, who has people in the country to take care of his buſineſs, eſpecially his ſheep. The chief ſhepherd has four charges of wheat, each ten meaſures, and each meaſure gives 60lb. of bread. Four charges of wine, one meaſure of ſalt, one of oil, and 3 liv. a month.—Many large flocks.—Thus far Rouſſillon is a very great ſheep country; infinitely more ſo than I have yet ſeen in France, and not yielding, in this reſpect, to Dorſetſhire itſelf.

Pia.—Feed them, with their lambs, very early in the ſpring with clover ſown alone in Auguſt on ſtubbles once ploughed; after it is ſpring fed, it is watered, and yields in many a full crop of hay.

Salſeize—Fooet—Two large flocks and folds.—Ditto with goats.

Sijean—Many flocks, and folded in the ſummer,

mer, but houſed in the winter, on account of wolves.

LANGUEDOC—*Narbonne.*—Price 15*ſ. en ſuint*; 50*ſ.* waſhed. —— To Beziers, and further, to Pezenas, ſmall flocks all the way, but none large; ſee ſome netted folds in olive-ground fallows.

Niſmes to Gange.——Many ſmall flocks of ſheep.

St. Maurice to Lodeve.—On theſe mountains (a waſte deſolate diſtrict) there are very large flocks kept: one man has 3000 in four or five different flocks.——Fleece $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 14*ſ. en ſuint*; but it is 50*ſ.* to 58*ſ.* waſhed. During ſnow, they feed on ſtraw—otherwiſe paſture all the year. Flocks and folds.

Mirepoix.—Their flocks are now in the mountains—but in the winter they are in the vale.—Fleece $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. 11*ſ. en ſuint*; waſhed 22*ſ.* to 25*ſ.* Coming out of Mirepoix, meet a flock totally diſtinct from any ſheep I have yet ſeen in France, they would hardly be diſtinguiſhed from Norfolks; all with horns, and thoſe of the rams turning forward one curl; many of them with black faces and black legs; others dark ſpeckled; wool and ſhape alſo carry the ſame reſemblance.

Lanu Maiſon to Bagnere de Bigore.—They have many ſheep on their extenſive waſtes, and the wool ſells at 22*ſ.* to 25*ſ. en ſuint*, and double when waſhed.—Meet, between Bagnere and Campan, four flocks; the ſheep larger than Norfolks; moſt with horns, curling behind the ears, but ſome polled;

polled; ſome black ones; combing wool of a middling length.

BEARN—*Lourd to Pau.*—The wool of the ſheep of Bearn is nine inches long, and ſells *en ſuint* 15*ſ.* per lb.: paſs many folds.——At Pau many flocks and folds: horns, coarſe wool; many black ſheep.

Navarreen to St. Palais and Anſpan.—Sheep not numerous, yet much waſte; polled; wool ſix or eight inches long, and very coarſe.—Many ſheep with coarſe wool, price 20*ſ.* lb. *en ſuint.*

GASCOIGN—*Bayonne to St. Vincents.*—Theſe waſtes are not without ſheep, though there are large tracts under water: meet ſome ſmall flocks, both polled and horned, with very coarſe wool: almoſt as many goats as ſheep.

Granade.—Many ſmall flocks of black ſheep; the wool of both white and black coarſe and bad; ſells at 10*ſ.* a lb. *en ſuint.* It is uſed for the poor people's ſtuffs.

SAINTONGE—*Monlieu.*—Fleece 1¾lb. at 20*ſ.* waſhed.

Angouleme.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 21*ſ.* waſhed.

Contre Verac.——Fleece 1½ lb. at 27*ſ.* waſhed.

POITOU—*Vivonne.*—Fleece 1 lb. at 31*ſ.* waſhed. Live the whole year round on paſture; ſtraw in the houſe in winter; never folded.

Orleans to Petiviers.—Fleece 3 lb. at 15*ſ.* Sheep-folds every where, with the ſhepherd's houſe on wheels.

Isle of France—*La Chapelle le Reine.*—Fleece 4 lb. at 13*s.*

Liancourt.—Fleece 5½ lb. at 12*s. en ſuint.* Every farmer has a flock, which is folded in ſummer on the fallows. The breed neither good nor bad; the duke of Liancourt procured ſome from Berry, and others from Flanders, for experiment. The former reſemble a good deal our South Downs; the wool a fine carding ſort. The latter a well formed ſheep, with very coarſe wool. The wool of the country, of which the price is named above, is very bad.

Beauvais to Izoire.—A better breed than common; polled; large; well made; fleece 5½ lb.: every man has his fold. Flocks this morning (Sept. 10.) in a heavy rain, at ten o'clock, ſtill in the fold.

Dugny.—Monſ. Cretté de Palluel's ſyſtem is, to buy wethers in June for folding till November, when he ſells about two-thirds of them half fat to the butcher; the other third he keeps fattening in the winter in the ſtable entirely on corn, bran, hay, &c. to be ready for the markets, when mutton grows dearer. It is now (October) 6*s.* and 7*s.* per pound; but from Eaſter, to the end of June, 2*s.* or 3*s.* more. The variation in beef is rather leſs. It is now 9*s.* or 10*s.* and cow beef 7*s.* but in May 2*s.* more. This inequality in the price of meat, is a certain proof of bad huſbandry. I viewed his ſheep-houſe, which is an arched ſtone building, without any yard for them to be in at pleaſure; the windows ſmall, and conſequently

the

the animals kept infinitely too hot.—There are men in this that country have large flocks of sheep, without an arpent of land; they let them to farmers, who have no sheep, at from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a head, and feed from June till November for folding.

Dammartin.—Many flocks; fleece 5 lb. at 20*s. en suint.*

PICARDY—*St. Quintin.*—Every farmer has a flock now folding for the last sown wheat: they are the Picardy breed; 4 or 5 lb. wool at 24*s. en suint:* hoggits 2½ lb.

FLANDERS—*Bouchaine.*—Every farmer has a flock; they give 4 to 5 lb. of wool, which sells at Lille for 30*s.* the pound washed.

Valenciennes to Orchees.—Long combing wool 5 lb. at 30*s.* the pound washed. They give them, in the winter, beans in the straw, unthreshed.—I saw some wethers bought at 21 liv. each lean, which was about the price they would have sold for in England.

Lille.—But few in this neighbourhood; 5 lb. at 30*s.* washed *.

ARTOIS—*St. Omers.*—Meet a flock of 200—the Flanders breed; wool seven or eight inches long; 5½ lb. each fleece, at 25*s.* washed. These

* The Marquis de Guerchy says, there are long wools at Turcoin, Lille, and Varneton, that sell at 50*s.* and 60*s.* the pound. *Mem pour l'Amelioration des Bêtes a laine.* 8vo. 1788. p. 3.—I did not meet with them.

sheep

ſheep have the clean ſilky ears of thoſe of Picardy; but with bodies dirty from the ſtable.

Bethune.—See a flock of two-year old wethers, whoſe wool this year produced 9 liv. each. The ſame breed as before. Feed them in winter on beans and ſtraw.——Fleece 5 lb. a 25*ſ.* waſhed.

Aras.—Sheepfolds thinly ſcattered thro' all the country.—Fleeces 5 liv. each.

Dourlens.—Fleeces worth 4 liv. each.

Amiens,—I was offered 45*ſ.* a pound for common Lincoln combing wool, neither long nor ſhort of the kind; this is about 20*d.* the pound Engliſh—but trade is very ſlack at Amiens.

Poix to Aumale.—Flocks large; 200 to 400. Fleeces 4 lb. at 33*ſ.*

Neufchatel to Rouen.—The ſame breed as in Picardy; give 4l. at 33*ſ.* waſhed.

Yvetot.—3 lb. at 32*ſ.* They are folded for wheat.

Bolbec.—4 lb. at 33*ſ.* never any other green food in winter than what they can pick up.

Honfleur.—Sheep gives fleeces of 6 lb. *en ſuint,* which are 3 lb. waſhed, and ſell at 30*ſ.*—Fleece 2 lb. waſhed; 5 lb. *en ſuint,* price 30*ſ.*—Red faces and red legs.

Pays d'Auge.—35 to 36*ſ* per lb. ditto.

Valley Corbon.—5 lb. *en ſuint,* 2½ lb. waſhed; ſells at 20*ſ.* per lb. *en ſuint.,* or 40*ſ.* waſhed—about five inches long. The ſheep in Normandy ſeem very generally to be the red faced and red legged breed.

Falaiſe.—Fleeces 3½ lb. at 24*ſ.* waſhed.

Duc.

Duc de Harcourt.—Fleeces 4 lb. at 40*ſ.* waſhed, or 20 lb. *en ſuint.* There is ſome Spaniſh blood in a few, but ſo croſſed and neglected as to be hardly perceivable. Here, as in moſt other parts of France, when you would have a ſheep caught that it may be examined, the ſhepherd orders his dog to drive the flock around his maſter, which he does by going round them in a circle gradually decreaſing, till the ſhepherd takes any one he wants. How infinitely ſuperior to our barbarous methods?

Carentan.—Sheep, in the richeſt marches, the ſame as on the hills; the red face and red leg breed; theſe marches are as capable of carrying to perfection the longeſt wool, as any land in Lincolnſhire. Wool 4 inches; 40*ſ.* per lb. waſhed, and 20 or 22*ſ. en ſuint.*

Piere Butte.——Monſ. Doumerc buys ſheep at two years old, and ſells them at three, to thoſe who fatten them. They are ſmall, and pretty well made, without horns; face and leg white—ſomewhat inclining to reddiſh, as if a mixed Norman breed. The wool ſold this year at 45*ſ.* per lb. waſhed; but at 18*ſ.* only if *en ſuint.*

BRETAGNE——*Broons.*——Poor little ſheep, not more than 10 lb. a quarter when quite fat. Very few ſheep, after entering this province.

Landerviſin.——At a fair here no ſheep at all; and all the way from Rennes to Breſt, there are ſcarcely any to be ſeen—yet a waſte country, and very well adapted to them.

La Roche Bernard to Guerande.—I have now paſſed

paſſed through almoſt all Bretagne, and ſeen ſcarcely one ſheep, where there ought to be an hundred; but here are ſome flocks of poor black things, which ſhew the careleſſneſs and ſavage ignorance of the inhabitants.

Savanal to Nantes.—Rich ſalt marſhes fed by little miſerable black ſheep, with wretched coarſe wool, where the longeſt woolled ſheep of Lincolnſhire would thrive and fatten. Miſerable black ſheep on all the waſtes.

Varades.—Very poor ſheep; many black, and ſome with red faces, but they are better than thoſe on the *landes*.

ANJOU——*Angers to La Fleche.*——The number of ſheep in this ride of thirty miles quite inſignificant; now and then four or ſix, and once about twenty; but they are ſuperior to the wretched animals of Bretagne; are worth about 12 liv. each, and yield 4 lb. of wool, at 36*ſ.* the lb. waſhed; yet there is not a country in Europe better calculated for them, as it is all a dry ſound ſand and gravel, and not too poor.

Turbilly.—Wool 36*ſ.*

NORMANDY.—*Alencon.*—The Norman breed here, of red faces and legs, and no horns; they are worth 12 or 14 liv. each; 3 lb. of wool, at 12*ſ. en ſuint*, or 30*ſ.* waſhed.

Nonant.—Many flocks; wool 12 to 18*ſ. en ſuint*, and 35*ſ.* waſhed; $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$lb. each fleece; the ſheep ſell at 15 liv.; they are never folded; the breed the red face and leg.

Grace

Gacé to Bernay.——Red face and leg; 2½ lb. of wool, at 36*ſ.* to 40*ſ.* waſhed.

Leſſiniole.——Many flocks.

Brionne.—Many flocks; wool this year (1788) 32*ſ.* laſt year 36*ſ.*; fleece 2½lb.

Rouen.——Waited on Meſſrs. Midy, Roffec, and Co. the greateſt wool-ſtaplers in France, and to whom I had letters of recommendation; they were ſo obliging as to ſhew me the wools in their magazines, explain the prices, and allow me to take ſpecimens; thoſe I particularly noted were:

Tyow and Nkmark.—Combing: the price 36*ſ.*; three years ago 26*ſ.*

Mecklenburgh.—Combing 32*ſ.*; three years paſt 24*ſ.*

Grieſclaire.——Combing 26*ſ.*; three years ago 20*ſ.*

Cawnteblanche.——Carding 26*ſ.*; was 20*ſ.*——*Damban.*——26*ſ.*; was 20*ſ.*

Mittelband.——22*ſ.*; was 12*ſ.*——*Guſtrow.*—Brebis 20*ſ.*; was 16 to 18*ſ.*

Loquets.——(Locks) carding 12*ſ.*; was 6 to 8*ſ.*

Eyderſtadt.—Combing 38 to 40*ſ.*; was 28 to 30*ſ.*

Pologne.——Combing 28*ſ.*; was 18 to 20*ſ.*

FRENCH——*Berry.*——Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 4*ſ.*; tare 8 lb. per ſack.

Sologne.—Carding 2 liv. 10*ſ.*——*Rouſſillon.*——Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 10*ſ.*

Pays de Caux.—Combing 36 to 38*ſ.*——*Poitou.*—Carding 48 to 50*ſ.*

SPAIN——*Segovie.*——Carding 6 liv.——*Segovaine.*——Carding 4 liv. 10*s.* to 5 liv.——Conditions of ſale, tare 10 lb. and 3 lb. allowed.

R. - -	180
Tare -	13
	167
Tare again, -	15 or 9 per cent.
Net - -	142 at 120*s.*

And ſeventeen and eighteen months credit, and bills taken at two, three, and four months to run. This for three ſorts Spaniſh, 120*s.* 105*s.* and 95*s.* The German wools, 110 given for 100, tare 6 per cent. for long credit. The riſe in the price of the German wools proceeds entirely from a great mortality, which has for two or three years leſſened the quantity conſiderably; the fall in the Spaniſh may be aſcribed to a decline, either real or apprehended, in the French fabrics; the manufacturers affirming they have great ſtocks of cloths unſold. No Engliſh; but they would give 38 to 40*s.* per lb. for the combing ſort, at the preſent prices; that is, the price of Eyderſtadt.

Totte.—Many ſheep folds, and, like moſt others in the kingdom, double, that the ſhepherd may change them in the night; ſee a flock of hoggits now worth 12 liv. each; no horns; fleece 2½ to 3 lb. at 34*s.*

ISLE OF FRANCE——*Nangis.*—Price of wool 30*ſ.* waſhed, or 15*ſ. en ſuint*; they never ſell lambs, but old ewes and wethers at five years old, lean in November 9 to 10 liv. each, fat 12 to 15 liv.; give them nothing in winter but ſtraw. See Monſ. du Prayé's ſheep in fold on the fallows at noon; wethers bought in merely for folding, at 14 to 15 liv. which will be ſold in November, at a loſs; and this pretty ſyſtem merely to get five or ſix ſeptiers of wheat! the ſeptier half an Engliſh quarter (6½ coomb per acre); ſheep (called) fat from Sologne 13 to 15 liv. each. Faggots here are made in ſummer, while the wood is in leaf, and lead up for feeding ſheep in the winter.

Neuf Moutier.——Fleece 6 lb. to 8 lb. at 12*ſ. en ſuint.*

CHAMPAGNE—*Mareuil.*—The king of France having imported ſome Spaniſh ſheep, gave the provincial aſſembly of Champagne a lot of a ram and fourteen ewes, which were committed to the care of Monſ. Le Blanc of this place. I viewed them with attention, and found the carcaſs of many of them as ill made as the wool was excellent. The ram clips 6½ lb. of wool; the ſheep 3, 4, and 5 lb.; and the price of ſome of it has riſen as high as four liv. and 4 liv. 10*ſ.* per lb.; 4 lb. at that price is 14*s.* 10½*d.* for the fleece: I ſaw the wool in the fleece, but it did not appear to me equal to ſuch a price.

Rheims.——Wool of Champagne this year 30*ſ.* per lb. In 1788, 30*ſ.* In 1787, 26*ſ.* In 1786.

25*s.* Such an increaſe of the price of wool is a very ſtrong preſumption that the ſheep have experienced no epidemical diſtemper; and that the manufacture is flouriſhing; and it is not improbable that the deduction of half from the earnings of the poor ſpinners is very much *à l' Angloiſe*; that is to ſay, an injuſtice.

Chalons to Ovo.—A flock of ſheep belonging to every community, 2, 3, or 400 in each; 380 in one, the ſhepherd of which I converſed with; there are twelve or fourteen owners. The ſheep give each 3 or 4lb. of wool, which this year ſold from 26*s.* to 30*s.* waſhed. They are never folded, on account of the ſmallneſs of the properties.

LORAINE—*Braban.*—Sheep ſell at 9 liv. Wool 1½ lb. each fleece, at 32*s.* per lb. waſhed.

Luneville.——The wool is waſhed on the ſheep's back before clipping, which is uncommon in France; the fleece 2 to 3 lb. price laſt year 29*s.* this year 30*s.*

Blamont to Haming.—See one ſheepfold, the firſt in the province; and I ſaw but this.

ALSACE—*Straſbourg.*——The ſheep are waſhed before clipping; wool 24*s.* fleece 2 to 3lb. twice a year, 1lb. each, at Eaſter and Michaelmas.

Iſle.—Small ſheep, that give from ½ to 1½ lb. of wool, that ſells at 36*s.* to 40*s.* waſhed. There are ſome wethers that do not weigh more than 4lb. a quarter.

FRANCHE COMPTE—*Beſancon.*—Clip their ſheep always twice a year, in May and in autumn; and

to

to the ſecond they give the ſame name, as to the ſecond hay crop, *regain*; the firſt yields 1½ lb. the the ſecond ¾ lb.; ſome aſſert the firſt to be fineſt wool, others the ſecond, but they go together in price, this year and laſt 36 to 40*ſ.* waſhed, ſome years paſt 20 to 24*ſ.* only. Near Lyons the ſheep go cloathed into the vineyards during winter, to preſerve their wool; I enter this where I have the intelligence, but I know not how to credit it. What cloathing would not be torn to tatters among the vines?

Bourgogne—*Dijon.*—Sheep clipt twice a year; the firſt the beſt; waſhed on the back before clipping; price 40*ſ.*

Couch to Mont Cenis—Poor little miſerable ſheep on the high grounds.

Maiſon de Bourgogne to Luzy.—Clip but once a year; wool 30*ſ.* per lb. waſhed; was two years ago but 24*ſ.*

Bourbonnois—*Chavanne.*—Twenty miles, one little flock only of poor miſerable ſheep of about 10 lb. a quarter, yet the country is adapted to nothing ſo much as to ſheep.

Moulins.—Fleece 2 to 3 lb. at 26*ſ.*; waſhed coarſely; lambs at four or five months old ſell at 3 liv.; ſheep 15 liv. the pair.

Auvergne——*Aigue Preſſe.*—A ſheepfold, and ſhepherd's houſe on wheels; the firſt I have ſeen for ſome hundreds of miles.

Riom.——Many ſheep and folds all the way.

Clermont.—Salt given every eight or ten days to ſheep; price 10 to 18 liv. the pair; wethers 24 to 40 liv.

40 liv. the pair; a lamb of four or five months 4 liv.; fleece of a wether *en ſuint* 3lb.; waſhed 1½ lb.; of an ewe 2 lb. *en ſuint*; 1 lb. waſhed; price *en ſuint* 16 to 18*ſ.*; waſhed 30 to 32*ſ.* In the mountains, price of coarſe wool *en ſuint* 10 to 18*ſ.*; and waſhed 28 to 30*ſ.* per lb.; ſpinning a pound of coarſe 10*ſ.*; fine ditto 12 to 16*ſ.*

Izoire.——Price of lean wethers 12 liv.; a fleece 2½ lb. at 15*ſ. en ſuint.*

Briude.——Wool, 80 liv. the quintal; per lb. *en ſuint* 16*ſ.* and ſo dirty that it loſes half; fleece of a whether 3 to 4 lb.; of a ſheep, 1 to 2 lb.

Fix to Le Puy.——Price of ſheep 20 to 24 liv. the pair; the fleece 3 liv. at 14 or 15*ſ. en ſuint.* —Folds.

VIVARAIS——*Pradelles.*—Wethers 10 or 12 liv.; fleece of ditto 3 or 3½ lb.; of ſheep 2 lb.; price 14 or 15*ſ. en ſuint.*

DAUPHINE—*Montelimart.*——A great change on croſſing the Rhone.—In the Vivarais the ſheep are poor little things, but on the other ſide of the river good and large. The price of wool was laſt year 60 liv. for 93 lb. *en ſuint*; this year 40 liv.—It loſes half in waſhing. The fall is attributed to the want of oil in Provence for combing it; it is all combing wool though ſhort, and olive oil only is uſed in the operation. A flock of one-third ewes, one-third wethers, and one-third lambs, will give all round 5 lb. of wool each——all ſold at an average price, but that of lambs the moſt valuable! hats are made of it.——The ſheep in this country feed readily on the *trifolium bituminoſum*, the ſcent of which

which is very ſtrong. A gentleman, near this place, has a flock partly Spaniſh and partly croſs-bred ſheep, which ſucceed well; and the wool ſells at 3 liv. per lb. All the farmers here, juſt as in the Vivarais, have long ſmall troughs on legs, in which they give ſalt regularly to their ſheep mixed with bran every fifteen days. Feeding in the dew is found to rot them more than any thing; on which account, they do not let them out of fold till the ſun has exhaled it; ſalt is the preſervative againſt that diſtemper. The quantity they give is 3 lb. to forty ſheep. It is remarkable that they fatten the faſter for feeding in the dew, but muſt be killed within a few months or they die rotten. Monſ. Foujas de St. Fond has found it very uſeful to give them oak bark pounded, and a little moiſtened with bran; it is good in the manner of ſalt as a preſervative againſt the rot, and has its effect alſo againſt the *enflé*.

PROVENCE—*Avignon*.——Very few kept; price of the wool 10*ſ.* the pound *en ſuint*; 4 lb. per fleece.

Tour d' Aigues.——There is, in Province, as regular an emigration of ſheep as in Spain; the march is acroſs the Province, from the Crau to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonetta; not regulated by any other written laws than ſome arrets of the parliament to limit their roads to five toiſes of breadth; if they do any damage beyond that, it is paid for. The Bracelonetta mountains are the beſt; they are covered with fine turf, *gazoné ſuperbement*; the ſheep belong to perſons about the Crau, at

Arles,

Arles, Salon, &c. The Preſident de la Tour d'Aigues calculates them at a million. They come from the mountains in autumn fat. The Crau ſhepherds hire the feed in the mountains, at 20*ſ.* each ſheep for ſix months; and the Crau price for the winter is the ſame. They give 8 or 9 lb. of wool *en ſuint*; this year they ſold at 45*ſ.* the fleece; laſt year 56ſ. Monſ. Darluc *, who gives a detail of theſe ſheep, aſſerts alſo, that their number is a million; and that the travel in flocks of 10,000 to 40,000, and are 20 to 30 days on the journey; but he ſays, the fleece is 5 or 5½ lb. only. They fold neither the Crau ſheep, nor thoſe at Tour d'Aigues. But in the Cammargue, where are no ſtones, and where the ſheep do not travel, they fold them. It is remarkable, that the Crau ſheep are never in ſtables either in winter or in ſummer. Sheep in general 5lb. each fleece, at 8lb. *en ſuint*. The common calculation 40ſ. It is moſt miſerable hairy ſtuff. Wethers 12 to 14 liv. each. The lamb of an ewe pays 3 liv. and the wool 2 liv. which makes her produce 5 liv. I viewed the flock of the Spaniſh breed, of which the preſident has given a very intereſting account in the memoirs of the Society of Agriculture at Paris; and of which I inſerted a tranſlation in the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xii. p 430. They have been introduced ſome years ago, and, from the preſident's abſence, much neglected; ſome of the ewes I found very old and

* *Hiſt. Nat. de la Provence.* 8vo. 1782. tom. i. p. 303, 324, 329, &c.

lean,

lean; in general, the form was not ſo bad as I expected, particularly the back-bone, which, in many Spaniſh ones I have ſeen, is quite ridged. The wool is cloſe, and tolerably curled, but not ſo hard coated to the feel as ſome I have ſeen. Their wool was ſold this year at 75 liv. the quintal, *en ſuint*. I heard of ſome who had tried the Spaniſh breed, but had left them off, becauſe they did not anſwer, eating much more than their own breed; I place no confidence, however, in the accuracy of theſe experiments. The preſident is now making elm faggots to lay up for the winter food of his flock. It is the common practice of the country; elm beſt; then poplar; oak good.

Eſtrelles.——Price of wool 36 to 50 liv. the 100 lb. *en ſuint*. Fleece 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

Lyons.—Inquired for the cloathed ſheep, but found nobody that had ſeen them.

St. Martin.—From Lyons hither, 67 miles, in a country adapted to ſheep, yet I have not ſeen fifty.

Roanne.—Fleece waſhed 22*ſ.* the pound.

Neuvy to Croiſiere.——A few flocks of forty or fifty, poor, ſmall, and ill looking.

Recapitulation.

Average weight of all the fleeces minuted,	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lb
——————— fleeces ſold *en ſuint*,	4
——————— waſhed,	3
Average price per lb. *en ſuint*	18*ſ.*
——————— waſhed,	30

The reader ſhould be particularly cautioned againſt drawing concluſions from the rates and weights of the wool here minuted clean and dirty; for, being taken from notes made at diſtant and diſtinct places, it does not follow, that the proportion between waſhed and unwaſhed is, in weight, as 3 to 4 lb. or in price, as 18 to 30*ſ.* to diſcover the latter proportion we muſt have recourſe to thoſe minutes only, which, *at the ſame place*, give the price both waſhed and unwaſhed. The average prices of theſe are———

En ſuint, - -	16s.
Waſhed, - -	37

And I am therefore inclined to fix on the following, as the data to be drawn from the preceding minutes.

Average fleece *en ſuint*,	4lb.
Average price per lb.	18s.
Which would be, waſhed,	41

The average of very numerous minutes, is 18*s.* per lb. *en ſuint*; and then, to find the proportion waſhed, I take that between 16 and 37s. which gives 41s. for the general price waſhed. That the difference between waſhed and unwaſhed is moderate in theſe notes, will appear from thoſe of Monſ. Carlier, viz.

Rouſſillon, -	11*ſ.* *en ſuint*,	—	38*ſ.* waſhed.
Cammargue, -	12	—	24
Provence, -	10	—	20
Saintonge, -	10	—	20
Berry, -	16	—	38
Beauce, -	8	—	16
Average,	11	—	26

Now,

Now, it is worth noting, that 16 and 37, or 18 41, bear the ſame proportion as 11 and 26, which is the reſult of this gentleman's enquiries in thoſe ſix provinces*. In my farming travels, twenty years ago, through England, I found the average fleece $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at $5\frac{1}{4}$d. per lb. But the average price, in 11 counties in 1788, was $9\frac{3}{4}$d. per lb.——The average fleece of waſhed wool in France being, according to theſe notes, 3 lb. at the places where the price is ſettled waſhed, and 4 lb. *en ſuint*, the mean of the whole kingdom cannot be more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. waſhed. The fleeces of England are therefore doubly more heavy. But the price in France at 41*ſ.* and, deducting for the difference of French and Engliſh weight, is ſomething more than 1s. 6d. per lb. for (on an average) worſe wool. But the trade in wool is free in France. As the French price is the fair one of Europe, that of England being artificially depreſſed, we are not to judge of the quality of the wools of France, relatively to our own by the price; for they have in fact (thoſe of Rouſſillon, Narbonne, and Berry for carding ſorts, and of Flanders for combing, alone excepted) very few that are ſo good as ours. ——We have a great deal of bad wool in England, but the French have much more; and indeed ſeem to have managed this branch of their agricultural œconomy as they have done almoſt every other. Rouſſillon is a part of Spain rather than of France, and therefore it is the Spaniſh blood that has given

* *Traité des Bêtes a laine.* 4to. 1770.

good wool there; and Flanders is an Auſtrian province; thus France, properly ſo called, had nothing but the Berry wool to pride herſelf upon; and that only in a ſmall diſtrict of a ſmall province. But the management of ſheep, throughout the kingdom, is the moſt abominable that can be conceived. It appears, by the notes, that in winter they are, according to our ideas, univerſally ſtarved; that is, fed upon ſtraw; for as to a proviſion of green winter food, cultivated purpoſely for them, of which no good farmer in England is ever deſtitute, there is not ſuch a practice in France, from one end of the kingdom to the other. The conſequences of this, are theſe poor fleeces, a bad quality of wool, and one ſheep kept where there might be an hundred. Hence alſo the neceſſity of an immenſe import of every kind of wool; and, what is ſtill much worſe, ſuch a deficiency of ſheep in eighteen-twentieths of the kingdom, that every article of huſbandry ſuffers; and meat is ſo much dearer than bread, that it cannot be purchaſed by the poor. All theſe are great evils, and deſerve a deep conſideration from every friend of his country, to take the proper means of remedying them; which, however, is not likely ever to be done effectually, till a large farm, on a poor ſoil, be fully ſtocked with a well fed flock as in England. But the deficiency of food is not the only point that wants to be remedied—the management of their ſtables is an enormous evil. To reap the benefit of manure, at a ſeaſon that prevents the ſhepherd from reſting abroad with his flock, out of an apprehenſion

prehenſion of the wolves, the ſheep are almoſt univerſally houſed at night throughout the winter: there is nothing objectionable in this, for much dung may be, and is certainly made by it; but the cloſe ſuffocating heat of the ſtables is ſuch, that the health of theſe animals ſuffers dreadfully; and epidemical diſorders often break out, ariſing principally from this cauſe. Notice is taken, in the minutes, of the ſheep being alſo thus confined in the middle of the day in ſummer. The ſtables are cleaned but once a-year, or, at moſt, but twice. Thus the flock lies on a dung-hill, and breathes the effluvia of it, inſtead of air. Before clipping, it is kept for ſome time, without freſh ſtraw, that the wool may be rendered dirty, and therefore heavy; and ſome men throw water on the dung, to excite a fermentation, that the fleeces may be ſo impregnated with moiſture, as to weigh to the ſatisfaction of the owner. This management is now and then rewarded, as it ought to be, with the loſs of whole flocks in a ſingle night; ſuch barbarous practices will eaſily lead the reader to judge of the profound ignorance of the French with reſpect to ſheep. *. There is no doubt, that they ought never to be houſed by force; but to have the choice in a yard,

* A French writer very erroneouſly ſays, that the Engliſh loſe prodigious quantities of ſheep by folding. *Mem. ſur. l' Agriculture. par M. Lormoy.* 8vo. 1789. p. 47. No ſuch thing.——One would think that the management of Engliſh ſheep ware as well known in France as other parts of Engliſh agriculture. Another writer ſays, that ſhort woolled rams ſell in England much dearer than long woolled ones. *Mem.*

a yard, ſecurely walled in, to be under cover, or expoſed to the weather at their pleaſure. I have myſelf a farm too wet for folding abroad in winter; and therefore uſe a well littered yard and barn, in which the ſheep are dry and clean, and not hotter than they pleaſe to be. I find the practice very beneficial; but mention it here only curſorily, as I have in another work † expatiated largely upon it.

One of the moſt ſingular practices in the eyes of an Engliſhman, that is to be met with abroad in the management of ſheep, is the regularity with which ſalt is every where given to their flocks, and alſo to cattle: The practice is of great antiquity. The antients were in a regular practice of giving ſalt to ſheep. Columella tells us, that if the paſture for this animal were ever ſo ſweet, yet it would grow ſtale to them if they have not ſalt given in wooden troughs ‡. It appears, from an impoſition eſtabliſhed ſo long ago as 1462, in the

Mem: pour l'Amelioration des Bêtes a laine dans l'Iſle de France. 1788. p. 8. Juſt the contrary. —— Ten guineas is a high price for a ram in Suſſex, the fineſt breed of the ſhort woolled kind; whereas a long woolled ram in Leiceſterſhire has been *let* at one thouſand guineas for a ſingle ſeaſon.

† *Annals of Agriculture.* Vol. xv. No. 87.

‡ Nec tamen ulla ſunt tam blanda pabula, aut etiam paſcua, quorum gratio non exoleſcat uſu continuo, niſi pecudum faſtidio paſtor occurrerit prebito ſale quod velut ad pabuli condimentum per æſtatem canalibus ligneis impoſitum cum e paſtu redierint oves, lambunt, atque eo ſapore cupidinem bibendi paſcendique concipiunt. Lib. vii.

Milaneſe,

Milaneſe, that the conſumption of ſalt is reckoned at 28lb. for each head of cattle §. In France it is conjectured to amount to 50lb. ‖, and for ſheep to 15lb, where the ſale of it is free. The ſame author mentions it as a known fact, that cows give the more milk for it; ſheep finer wool; and that all animals are kept by it in good health. In ſome of the *cahiers* of inſtruction to the deputies in the National Aſſembly, ſalt is conſidered as eſſential to the well-being of cattle, *indiſpenſible aux beſtiaux* ¶. Monſ. d'Aubenton directs 1lb. every eight days to twenty ſheep **. In Spain it is as common as it is in Italy and France; a *fanega* of ſalt, or 100lb. is allowed for one hundred ſheep, by law; but they uſe fifteen and twenty *fanegas* for 1000 ſheep ††. In a memoir on the Spaniſh flocks, by the late Mr. Collinſon, the account is more particular and curious. "The firſt thing the ſhepherd does when the flock returns from the S. to its ſummer downs, is to give the ſheep as much ſalt as they will eat. Every owner allows his flock, of a thouſand ſheep, twenty-five *quintals* of ſalt, which the flock eats in about five months; they eat none in their journey,

§ *De l'Adminiſtration Provinciale*, par M. le Trone. 8vo. 1788. tom. i. p. 237.

‖ Ibid.

¶ *Cahier du Tiers Etat de Toul.* p. 17. Alſo, *De la Nobleſſe de Clermont Ferand.* p. 22.

** *Inſtruction pour les Bergers.* 8vo. 1782. p. 105. See alſo, *Traité d'Economie Politique.* 8vo. 1783. p. 554.

†† *Eſſai Hiſt. & Pol. ſur la race des Brebis.* *trad. d'Arem.* 12mo. 1784. p. 47.

nor

nor in their winter-walk. It is believed, that if they ſtinted their ſheep of this quantity, it would weaken their conſtitutions and degrade their wool; the ſhepherd places fifty or ſixty flat ſtones, at about five ſteps diſtance from each other; he ſtrews ſalt upon each ſtone; he leads the flocks ſlowly through the ſtones, and every ſheep eats to his liking. What is very remarkable is, that the ſheep never eat a grain of ſalt, nor wiſh for it, when they are feeding on land which lies on lime-ſtone; and as the ſhepherd muſt not ſuffer them to be too long without ſalt, he leads them to a ſpot of clayey ſoil, and, after a quarter of an hour's feeding them, they march back to the ſtones and devour the ſalt. So ſenſible are they of the difference, that if they meet with a ſpot of mixed ſoil, which often happens, they eat ſalt in proportion." The practice is found equally in Germany; the late King of Pruſſia, by ordonance, expected his peaſants to take two *mebzen* (9 lb.) for each milch-cow, and one *metze* for every five milch-ſheep, and half as much for ſuch as do not give milk *; and in Bohemia the price of ſalt is found very prejudicial to the flocks †. The Hungarian peaſants lay pieces of rock-ſalt at the doors of their ſtables, cow-houſes, &c. for cattle and horſes to lick ‡. It is known alſo in Poland §.

* *Mirabeau de la Monarchie Pruſſienne.* Tom. ii. p. 102.

† Ibid. Tom. vi. p. 236.

‡ Keyſler's Travels, 12mo. 1758. Vol. iv. p. 242.

§ Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Nat. Hiſt. 12mo. 1693. p. 226.

Through-

Throughout all North America ſalt is given to cattle and horſes once or twice a week ‖. Paoletti, a practical Italian writer, orders 1 lb. to each ſheep in autumn, and another in ſpring ¶. Monſ. Carlier decides againſt it, but on very inſufficient authority **. Monſ. Teſſier unites with the common practice, by recommending it ††. This practice, which is unknown in England only, merits I believe much more attention than the Engliſh farmers are willing to give it, at leaſt thoſe with whom I have converſed upon this ſubject. I have tried it for two years paſt in my own flock; and though it is very difficult to pronounce the effect of ſuch additions to their food, except after long and repeated experiments, I have, I think, reaſon to be ſatisfied, my ſheep having been very healthy, and once or twice ſo, when my neighbours ſuffered loſſes.

The breeds which I have noted in France are, 1, The Picardy; hornleſs; white faces; and ſilky hanging ears. This I take to be a baſtard breed of

‖ Smyth's Tour in the United States. 8vo. 1784. Vol. i. p. 143.

¶ *Penſieri ſopra l'Agricoltura.* 8vo. 1789. p. 209.

** *Traité des Bêtes a laine.* 4to. Tom. i. p. 296.

†† *Obſerv. ſur Pluſieurs Maladies de Beſt.* p. 67. See alſo on this ſubject. *Markman's cheap and good Huſbandry*, p. 111, 120. *Parkinſon's Theatrum Botanicum*, p. 552. *Maiſon Ruſtique*, p. 167. *Hartlib's Legacy*, p. 199. *Mills' new and complete Syſtem of Practical Huſbandry*, vol. iii. p. 416. *Memoirs of the Bath Society*, vol. i. p. 180. And a curious paſſage in *Birch's Edition of Boyle*, vol. v. p. 521. *Dr. Blower to Mr. Boyle.*

Flanders; the wool coarſe; of middling length. 2, Normandy; red legs and red faces; coarſe wool. 3, Berry; reſembling ſomewhat the South Downs of England; fine wool. 4, Spaniſh in Rouſſillon, and in part of Languedoc. 5, Near Mirepoix, a ſort that reſembles Norfolk ſheep; with horns; black faces and legs. The reſt, I apprehend, are all mongrels, without any ſtrong features to diſcriminate them. The badneſs of the breeds, and the ill management of ſheep in France, is the more ſurpriſing, as I conceive there is no country in Europe better adapted to this animal. The ſoil is, in general, dry, and the climate much leſs humid than that of England, which circumſtances are of eſſential conſequence for commanding great ſucceſs with ſheep: wet land and a wet climate are, next to French management, by far their greateſt enemies. The old government often expreſſed a great inclination to take whatever ſteps might be deemed neceſſary to improve their ſheep; I have noted the controleur general Bertin employing Monſ. Carlier to travel through France, from 1762 to 1766, for examining the flocks; and Monſ. d'Aubenton acknowledges, that whatever he executed in regard to importing the Spaniſh breed, was done at the inſtigation of another controleur general. "Monſ. Trudaine ne m'a rien laiſſé à déſirer de tout ce qui pouvoit m'être utile pour remplir mon objet." Much encouragement has ſince been given to Monſ. Delporte, of Boulogne, for importing a flock of Engliſh ſheep; and the late Marquis of Conflans bought

bought, for the provincial aſſembly of Normandy, one hundred Engliſh rams, which were to be landed at nine guineas a-piece. The government was always inclined to be liberal upon this buſineſs, but never took the right ſteps. I viewed ſeveral parcels of ſheep that were ſaid to be Spaniſh, but never ſaw a ſingle one that gave wool comparable to Spaniſh; and I was aſſured, by very reſpectable manufacturers, at Louviers and Elbœuf, that not one fleece of ſuch has ever been produced in France, and that the Rouſſillon wool is the beſt in the kingdom. The Spaniſh ſheep I examined in France were ſuch ill made animals, that as much would be loſt in the carcaſs, and in the want of diſpoſition to thrive, as could be gained in wool, ſuppoſing it as fine as poſſible. The Engliſh ſheep which I ſaw were choſen pretty much in the ſame manner; and no wonder, as ſmugglers had been the agents, who would of courſe procure ſuch as were to be had cheapeſt. Where the Marquis de Conflans bought his Engliſh ſheep, I never heard; by his death France loſt them, and, if I may judge from the others I have ſeen, the loſs is not great. All theſe exertions have been made by people whoſe profeſſions, habits of life employments, and purſuits have been far removed from agriculture; uſually by inhabitants of the capital, or other great cities.—In a word, theſe have been made by men, in whoſe hands ſucceſs was impoſſible. If the government had, for the introduction of Spaniſh wool, fixed a Spaniſh farmer, with Spaniſh ſhepherds, and a Spaniſh flock, in ſuch a diſtrict as

the Crau, in Provence, to enjoy their annual emigration, it would have been known what could really be done in carding wool. And if an Engliſhman, with a flock of well-choſen Lincolnſhire, or Leiceſterſhire, long woolled ſheep, had been fixed in the Pays d'Auge, with a ſalary of five hundred louis a-year for himſelf, and with every other expence amply provided, it would at once have been found, that as long and as fine combing wool may be produced in France as in England. But ſuch eſtabliſhments would depend abſolutely on the choice of the men; in ſome hands the whole expence would be thrown away; in others not a penny of it would be loſt.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Capital employed in Huſbandry.

THERE is no light, in which the agriculture of France can appear to leſs advantage than upon this head. It is ſcarcely credible how the metayers are able to ſupport themſelves with a ſtock ſo much inferior to what would be neceſſary to a good cultivation. In all the provinces which are backward in point of agriculture, as Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limoſin, Angoumois, Poitou, part of Guienne, and Languedoc; in Champagne, Lo-

raine,

raine, Franche Compté, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Lyonois, and part of Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence; the ſtock of every ſort upon the farms, whether belonging to the landlord or the tenant, would not riſe to 20s. per Engliſh acre, and in many diſtricts not to 15s. The paſtures of Normandy, and the arable lands of Flanders, and part of Artois, are well ſtocked; but there is a great deficience in every other part of the kingdom, even in the beſt provinces. The quantity of ſheep and cattle is every where trifling in compariſon of what it ought to be. The implements of huſbandry are contrived for cheapneſs, not for duration and effect; and ſuch ſtacks of hay in ſtore, as are found all over England, are rarely ſeen in France. Improvements inveſted in the land, by marling, draining, &c. which, on farms in England, amount to large ſums of money, are inconſiderable even in the beſt [illegible] of France. And beſide the ſtock, tranſferred from tenant to tenant, the inveſtments, which [illegible] fall upon the landlord, ſuch as all ſorts of conveniences in building, fencing, gates, ſtiles, poſts, rails, &c. which he muſt provide or repair for a new tenant, are done in England at an expence unknown in the greateſt part of France; not [illegible] in ſome provinces, eſpecially in the north[illegible]ces, the buildings are ſubſtantial, and erected on a large ſcale. I ſhall, however, have no doubt in calculating the inferiority of France in its preſent ſtate, to that of England, in the circumſtances of building, incloſing, marling, claying, draining, laying to meadow, and other *permanent* improve-

improvements, at 30s. an acre over the whole territory. It is 40s. or 50s. inferior to all our well improved counties; but as we have ſome backward in agriculture, as well as France, I calculate the whole at 30s.

I have calculated the capital of the farmers in all the provinces of the kingdom, and the medium of my notes is 40s. an acre. A ſimilar calculation of the capital employed in the huſbandry of England gives 4l. per acre *; in other words, 40s. more than is found in France: add 30s. for the leſs quantity of permanent improvements; and we have the total of 3l. 10s. per acre for the inferiority of French to Engliſh capital employed in agriculture, which, upon 131,000,000 of acres, forms a deficiency of 458,500,000l. ſterling, or 10,480,000,000 of liv.—above ten milliards. Hence it is, that it would demand this vaſt ſum to be expended and inveſted in the agriculture of France, to bring the whole of that kingdom to an acreable

* It will be proper here to explain what I mean by *capital*. A farmer, in England, who ſtocks a farm, finds it neceſſary, on entering, to have a given ſum of money for engaging in and carrying on the buſineſs through the firſt year, in which is reckoned a year's labour, rent, tythe, ſeed, &c.; and this ſum varies generally from 3l. to 5l. an acre: if the account of the ſame farmer be examined ſome years after, he will be found to have ſtock to a greater value, having increaſed it in cattle, ſheep, manuring, and other improvements, for which he would be paid if he ſuddenly left his farm.... Now, take the average of all farms, of all ſtocks, and of all periods of leaſes, and I value the capital employed at 4l. an acre, which I have reaſon to believe, from circumſtances too numerous to detail here, to be a very moderate eſtimate.

equality

equality with England; and I am confident, that I have not been guilty of the leaſt exaggeration. The capital of farmers in England being 4l. per acre, let us calculate that of Scotland at 30s. and that of Ireland at 40s.

England,	46,000,000 acres,	at 4l.	£.	184,000,000
Scotland,	26,000,000	at 30s.		39,000,000
Ireland,	26,000,000	at 40s.		52,000,000
	98,000,000			275,000,000
France	131,000,000	at 40s.		262,000,000

The capital employed, therefore, in huſbandry in the Britiſh iſles, is conſiderably greater than is employed in France. It ſurely is not neceſſary to obſerve, in this age, that the productive ſtate of agricutlure in a country depends much more on the capital employed, than on any other circumſtance whatever; and that ſince ours is larger than that of France, though in the poſſeſſion of 15 millions of people only (for that of France is to be connected with 25 or 26 millions), the Britiſh dominions ought to be eſſentially richer, and more powerful, than France; and while the two countries continue in their preſent ſituation, nothing can reverſe this concluſion, but egregiouſly ill management in our own government. It is upon the firm baſis of this momentous fact, that politicians ought to ſeek the ſolution of that apparent phœnomenon, which the two laſts wars exhibited; the ſpectacle of England reſiſting, ſucceſsfully, the whole power of France and Spain: and I will venture

venture farther to aſſert, that thoſe who ſeek the explanation in American colonies, or Indian conqueſts, ſeek it in cauſes of weakneſs, much more than of ſtrength; and that the poſſeſſion of near 300 millions ſterling of active capital employed upon our lands, is of quite another importance than that of ſuch diſtant and brittle dependencies, or than any advantage that our boaſted foreign commerce ever gave us. When Mr. Paine * calculates, with pleaſure, the ſuperiority of France to England in *ſpecie*, at ſeventy millions, upon data which, I ſhall ſhew in another place, have nothing more to do with the proſperity of the French than of the Hurons; he adverts to a policy which will be found a rotten one, by every nation that relies on it; I mean, that of eſtimating gold and ſilver as national wealth: their rapid currency, indeed, implies proſperity—but that of paper does the ſame; and if paper has given to England a ſuperiority of FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING in the ſolid and real wealth of ſtock in huſbandry, ſhe has not much reaſon to envy France a ſuperiority of ſeventy millions in ſpecie.

One great deviation of French capital has been in the ſugar iſlands, which according to the produce, cannot have a leſs capital employed in them than fifty millions ſterling. The royal navy of France has been, and is now, a favourite object, chiefly for the ſake of defending and ſecuring theſe colonies; let us take but twenty-five years

* *Rights of Man*, p. 155.

expence

expence of the navy, at two millions ſterling, and here are fifty other millions; in theſe two alone, without extending the ſuppoſition to many others that might be equally included, there are one hundred millions ſterling, or two and a-half *milliards* of livres, which, under a different policy, might have been inveſted in agriculture; and had this taken place, the nation would have been in the receipt (counting only at 50 per cent. *produce* for the capital inveſted) of fifty millions ſterling per annum more than ſhe receives from her agriculture at preſent; or conſiderably more than 1,000,000,000 liv. Now, what compariſon can there be in the wealth, proſperity, power, or reſources, between the import of five or ſix millons ſterling in Weſt Indian commodities, and the production of ten times that amount in the native ſoil of France? Yet this wretched commercial policy is now continuing; inveſtments are ſtill made in the Weſt Indies, becauſe the nation expends two millions a-year on a navy to protect them; and it expends the two millions becauſe the inveſtments are thus made in the Indies; going eternally in this vicious circle; planting American waſtes on account of the navy, and keeping up the navy becauſe thoſe waſtes are planted; while her own agriculture wants 450 millions ſterling in capital to be placed on an equality with England, which, from a ſimilar policy, is not half improved to the perfection of which it is capable. What utter infatuation and blindneſs does ſuch a conduct prove! And may we not fairly conclude, that the greateſt favour

which an enemy, or a friend, could do to France, would be the ſeizing of thoſe colonies, and thereby ſtopping this miſerable deviation of capital. Perhaps this remark may, with equal juſtice, be applied to England. Tippo Saïb was mentioned to me in France as an object of ſerious alarm to our kingdom; much the contrary; if he drove us out of the Eaſtern Indies, and the negroes were to drive us out of the Weſtern, they would be our beſt friends; for the capitals of the nation would then find the employment which they ought long ago to have found.

But I ſhall venture to carry this idea yet farther; it is not only the French capital employed in the ſugar iſlands, and in the royal navy, that is a direct deviation from agriculture, for whatever is uſed in foreign commerce falls under the ſame predicament. The value of all the navigation of France, ſhips, ſtores, furniture, ſeamen, ſeamen's-wages, and all the exertions within land, in conſequence of them, ſo much commended by numerous writers, muſt equally be conſidered as an employment of capital, much leſs profitable than that of agriculture. I do not contend that a ſtate ſhould neglect the proper means of its defence, and the advantages of a maritime ſituation; I maintain only, that the true progreſs of national induſtry is to ſtock fully the lands of a country, before any capitals are inveſted in other purſuits. It will be ſaid (for the obſervation is common), that the inveſtment of capitals in a nation muſt be left to the option of the individuals who poſſeſs them; but

but this objection is removed in a moment: the fact is granted; but the policy contended for is, that the ſtate ought not, by laws and regulations, to tempt and bribe men to an inveſtment of capital, contrary to the intereſts of agriculture; which Colbert did in ſo flagrant a manner, and which is yet done in every country of Europe with which I am acquainted, either by direct encouragements to the commercial ſyſtem, or by laying burthens and taxes on land. The ſole policy here inſiſted upon is that of freedom; let the ſtate take no party, and agriculture, from its ſuperior profit, will attract capitals, as long as an acre wants them; but when the ſtate lays taxes upon the land, in any other way whatever than the conſumption of its products, or carries proper taxes to an undue extent, or permits the cultivators to become the prey of a tythe-gatherer, or loads them with the ſupport of the poor, or, in fine, cramps the free ſale of products, by prohibitions and monopolies; in all theſe caſes, capital is as much driven from land as if an expreſs law forbade the inveſtment. It is not difficult to conjecture what turn this policy will take in France, when we ſee the prepoſterous and pernicious doctrines of the *œconomiſtes* triumphant; when the falſe and abſurd doctrine, that all taxes ultimately fall on lands, is recognized and admitted; and when we know that a propoſition for a direct land-tax of twelve millions ſterling was received without abhorrence; ſuch ſpectacles are not thoſe of the *regeneration* of agriculture.

Upon the whole, the following concluſion may fairly be drawn:—as the old government of France, by all ſorts of burthens and oppreſſions, kept down the agriculture of the kingdom, and as it were prohibited improvements, treading in the falſe and fallacious ſteps of Colbert, and encouraging excluſively manufactures and foreign commerce, it neceſſarily follows, that little credit can be given to the wiſdom of the new legiſlature, which has ariſen in that kingdom, unleſs different plans be adopted. To foſter and promote agriculture in ſuch a manner as to enable her to attract the capitals ſhe has hitherto wanted, is an object not to be effected by ſugar-iſlands, and is eaſily to be deſtroyed by ſuch land-taxes as have lately been eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly. It is not the diviſion of farms, and holding commons ſacred, that will enrich the ſtock of huſbandry. The government of the kingdom, it is true, is regenerated; but the ideas of the people muſt alſo be regenerated upon theſe queſtions, before a ſyſtem can be embraced, which, by giving capital to agriculture, ſhall carry France to ſuch a proſperity as England has attained.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Price of Proviſions, Labour, &c.

WITHOUT knowing the price of theſe articles in different countries, the political arithmetician would want one of the principal baſes to build and ſupport many of his moſt uſeful calculations. The connection between the price of labour and of proviſions; the effects of high or low prices on agriculture, and the re-action of culture on price; the manner by which high and low prices affect population, manufactures, and national proſperity,——theſe, and a thouſand other inquiries in political œconomy, which ſo many writers have treated on the grounds of mere theory and reaſoning, ſhould be ſuſpended till a ſufficient mass of facts be collected, the examination and compariſon of which can alone elucidate ſuch intricate ſubjects. When the rates of labour, proviſions, &c. are correctly known in countries governed upon different principles, and poſſeſſing very different quantities of the precious metals, and degrees of induſtry, the politician will have valuable data on which he may reaſon: to collect ſuch ought to be one great object of thoſe who travel with philoſophical views, and who direct their attention to ſubjects of uſeful knowledge, inſtead of the common

frivolous

frivolous purſuits that waſte the time and fortunes of ſo many. Without inſerting the minutes themſelves, which, but for brevity, I ſhould have done, I ſhall inſert the averages of the whole.

	French money.	Engliſh money.
Beef, per lb. aver. of 76 minutes,	7*ſ.*	$3\frac{1}{2}d.$
Mutton, average of ditto,	7	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Veal, average of 72 ditto,	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Meat average of the three,	7*ſ.*	
Pork, average of 28 minutes,	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Butter, average of 38 minutes,	$16\frac{3}{4}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Cheeſe, average of 10 ditto,	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Eggs, average of 19 ditto,	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Bread, average of 67 ditto,	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Wine, per bottle, aver. of 32 ditto,	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Twenty-three minutes concerning bread, having been made in 1789, when the price of wheat was extravagant, we certainly muſt not reckon the average price of ſuch bread, as the bulk of people eat in France, at more than 2*ſ.* the pound, or 1*d.* Engliſh.——It is to be remembered, that the pound, *poid de marc* of France, is to the Engliſh pound *avoir-du-poids*, as 1,0000 is to 0,9264; it is therefore about $\frac{1}{11}$ heavier, a difference which muſt be kept in mind. In order to compare the prices of theſe commodities in the two kingdoms, ſome previous obſervations are neceſſary. Beef is, in many parts of France, exceedingly good and well fattened; better is not to be found any where than at Paris; and I have remarked, elſewhere, the great numbers of fine oxen fattened in Limoſin in winter, and in Normandy in ſummer, for the Paris market, I think, therefore, that the beef of England,

gland, and of great cities in France, may very fairly be compared. It is not ſo *generally* good, perhaps, in the latter kingdom, but the difference does not demand attention.——It is, however, very diſcernible in little country towns, where nothing is killed but old cows—and good beef is as rare as good mutton; whereas there is not a ſpot in England, in which a private gentleman's family, that lives in the country, is not ſupplied with good ox beef. Veal, notwithſtanding that at Paris from Pontoiſe, is much inferior; but the great inferiority of French meat to Engliſh is in mutton, which is univerſally ſo bad in France, that I may aſſert, very correctly, that from one end of the kingdom to the other, I never ſaw a live or dead ſheep that would in England be eſteemed a fat one. In general, mutton is ſo lean, that, to an Engliſh palate, it is barely eatable. The French do not like very fat mutton,——that is to ſay they do not like much fat; but they muſt like the lean of fat meat, as being more juicy, and better flavoured, than that of lean. It is however to be remembered, that at common tables (I do not ſpeak of thoſe of great lords, for they do not form a nation) meat is uſually ſo much roaſted, that it is not an equal object to have it ſo fat as in England. But though the niceneſs of the palate is a matter of no importance, yet whether the mutton in general be lean or fat, is of very great conſequence in theſe inquiries; for this circumſtance may make that meat much dearer in France than it is England. Upon an average in the latter kingdom, the price of meat,

in

in 1790, as I found by numerous returns from many counties, was,—Beef, 4d. per lb.—Mutton, $4\frac{1}{2}$d.—Veal, $4\frac{1}{2}$d.——Average of the three $4\frac{1}{4}$d.—Pork 4d.

I am of opinion, that the beef and veal are as cheap at theſe prices, if we conſider the quality, as in France, for theſe minutes reſpect the beſt joints only. As to mutton, it is at leaſt 20 per cent. cheaper; by which I wiſh to have it underſtood, that I allude to the ſuperior expence which muſt be incurred by the grazier, in order to bring his mutton ſo fat to market, as is univerſal in England; or, in other words, that he would make a greater profit, by ſelling it at the French price, than at the Engliſh one, provided he were to make it no fatter than is uſual in France. Whoever attentively conſiders the French huſbandry, will not be ſurprized at the leanneſs of their mutton. The want of artificial graſſes is ſo great, that ſheep, though few in number, are miſerably fed in ſummer; but as to winter, they are in moſt of the provinces fed upon ſtraw, and what they can pick up on waſtes and ſtubbles. There are few diſtricts where you ſee any thing like a regular proviſion for them; in conſequence of which, the markets are ſupplied in a very imperfect manner, and farms ſuffer dreadfully from want of the manuring, which a flock of hearty well fed ſheep are ſure to depoſit. Bread in England may be reckoned at $1\frac{3}{4}$d. a pound; but we muſt not, therefore, conclude, that it is near double the French price; for the materials are not the ſame. In England, it is

very

very generally made of wheat; and the poor, in many parts of the kingdom, eat the whiteſt and beſt; but in France, the bread minuted in the preceding notes, is often of rye and other grain; ſo that the price is not double for the *ſame* bread; though there is cent. per cent. variation in the price of the bread conſumed by the poor of the two countries. Bread being ſo much cheaper in France, in compariſon of meat, than it is in England, occaſions that great conſumption of bread in France in preference to meat, which the French poor rarely eat. In England, the conſumption of meat, by the labouring poor, is pretty conſiderable; for as bread approaches ſo much nearer to the price of meat in this kingdom, it neceſſarily occaſions this difference between the two countries, which has been already remarked by Monſ. Herrenſchwandt with his uſual acuteneſs. The conſumption of cheeſe in England, by the poor, is immenſe. In France they eat none at all. The Engliſh conſumption of meat is infinitely more beneficial to agriculture than the French conſumption of bread: it is by means of great ſtocks of cattle and ſheep, that lands are improved and rendered productive; the crops which ſupport cattle and ſheep are of an ameliorating nature; but thoſe that yield bread are, on the contrary, exhauſting. It muſt be therefore evident, that agriculture will be advanced in proportion to the quantity of meat, butter, and cheeſe conſumed by any nation.

Average.——Fowl 22*ſ.* (11d.); turkey 68*ſ.*

(2*s.* 10d.); duck 22*s.* (11d.); goose 50*s.* (2*s.* 1d.); pigeon 7*s.* (3½d.)

Observations.

It appears from these averages, that poultry is not generally so cheap in France as it has been represented; it is, however, cheaper than in England; for I cannot estimate the prices with us lower than, a fowl 1*s.* 6d.; a turkey 5*s.*; a duck 1*s.* 6d.; a goose 4*s.*; a pigeon 4d.

Labour.

The minutes I took are too numerous to insert, constrained as I am to brevity. Average earnings of men throughout the kingdom 15*s.*; mason and carpenter 30*s.* There are but few minutes concerning the rise of the price of labour; in Normandy it has been doubled in twelve years; in Provence it has risen from sixteen to twenty four; but in Anjou it remains as it was fifty years ago. The idea I had of the general price of labour in France, taken about twenty or twenty-five years ago, which I acquired from reading and from information, was the average of 16*s.* a day. If that idea were at all correct, labour has risen about 20 per cent. But though the price is now satisfactorily ascertained, I do not know that it was ever so before, and the general ideas to which I allude might be very erroneous. I take the fact not to be far from the rise of 20 per cent on the average,

average, but to have been much more ſo in the provinces where there are ſome activity of commerce and manufactures; and no increaſe at all, or at leaſt very little, in thoſe which do not enjoy theſe advantages.

The average price of labour in England twenty years ago, when I made my tours, was 7s. 6d. a week, or 1s. 3d. a day; the price at preſent I ſhould ſtate at 8s. 5d.* a week, or 1s. 4¾d. a day; but this idea is not founded on an actual ſurvey. Indeed it is much to be wiſhed that England were again travelled through, with the views that I examined it twenty years ago, that its progreſſion might be well aſcertained; ſuch a knowledge is uſeful to every man who would really underſtand the ſtate of his country; ſo uſeful, that it ought to be done at the expence, not of government, but of parliament, independently of miniſters, if poſſible, whoſe intereſt it is always to repreſent the country as flouriſhing; for moſt of them aſſume a merit from the proſperous condition of the kingdom, though perhaps not indebted to them for one atom of its amount: whatever evils befal a nation, are, for the moſt part, to be charged to the account of government alone.

Labour in France, -	19ſ.	Meat, -	7ſ.
		Bread, -	2
Labour in England, -	33½	Meat, -	8¼
		Bread, -	3½

* Calculated thus. five weeks at 12s. a week; four at 9s; and forty-three at 8s.; in all 22l.; but no eſtimate *by the week* will ſhew the real earnings of our labourers, who perform ſo much work by the piece, that they earn much more than any weekly rate can point out.

If meat and bread be combined into one price, it follows, that labour in England, when proportioned to labour in France, ſhould be at 25½*ſ.* a day, inſtead of 33½*ſ.* If bread alone be taken, there is almoſt the ſame proportion; that is, 19 at 2 are the ſame as 33½ at 3½; but this coincidence, perhaps, is accidental; becauſe in England the rate of labour, ſuppoſing it to depend on proviſions, would certainly depend, not on bread only, but on an aggregate of bread, cheeſe, and meat; however, one would wiſh to ſee theſe naked facts aſcertained, whatever concluſions may be drawn from them. The conſumption * of bread, and the price of labour being about 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, is an enormous deduction from what may, with propriety, be called the maſs of national proſperity in the former kingdom. This opinion, however, I venture to maintain againſt a cloud of writers and politicians, who ſtrenuouſly contend for cheap proviſions and cheap labour, in order to have cheap, and conſequently flouriſhing, manufactures; but the example of England, which has outſtripped the whole world in this circumſtance, ought long ago to have driven ſuch ſentiments from every mind. Country-labour being 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, it may be inferred, that all thoſe claſſes which depend on

* I ſay the *conſumption*, and not the *price*, becauſe the kinds of bread in the two kingdoms are not the ſame: there is no ſuch difference as this in the price of wheat; I apprehend no difference at all.

labour,

labour, and are the moſt numerous in ſociety, are 76 per cent. leſs at their eaſe (if I may uſe theſe expreſſions), and worſe fed, worſe cloathed, and worſe ſupported, both in ſickneſs and in health, than the ſame claſſes in England, notwithſtanding the immenſe quantity of precious metals, and the impoſing appearance of wealth in France. And if the labouring poor conſume 76 per cent. leſs than the poor in our kingdom, they conſequently afford, in the ſame ratio, a worſe market to the farmer; whence agriculture ſuffers in the ſame proportion, and ought to be found, by this combination, at leaſt 76 per cent. worſe than the agriculture of England. Every country contains a certain portion of the precious metals, or of ſome other currency that anſwers the ſame purpoſe; and the difference between a high and a low price of labour and proviſions is, that in one country a large proportion of thoſe metals is in the hands of farmers and labourers; and in the other a ſmall one only. In one caſe great activity and vigour will be found in huſbandry; in the other very little. But this argument may be extended yet farther; for if there be 76 per cent. difference in the conſumption of the French and Engliſh labourers, there ought to be 76 per cent. difference in the ſtrength of body between the two nations. Strength depends on nouriſhment; and if this difference be admitted, an Engliſh workman ought to be able to do half as much work again as a Frenchman,—this alſo will I believe be found to be correctly the caſe; and if the great

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ſuperiority, not only of the Engliſh huſbandry, but alſo of thoſe manufactures into which machines do not enter any more than in France, be well conſidered, this extenſion of theſe proportions will not be thought at all extravagant. To what is all this to be aſcribed? Moſt clearly to the pernicious influence of a government, rotten in its principles; that ſtruck a palſy into all the lower and productive claſſes to favour thoſe whoſe only merit is conſumption. If ſome future traveller ſhould examine France with the ſame attention I have done, he will probably find, under a free government, all theſe proportions greatly changed; and, unleſs the Engliſh government be more vigilant and intelligent than it hath hitherto been, France will be able to boaſt as great a ſuperiority as England does at preſent.

Of the Public Support of the Poor.

It was not long after the ſeizure of the eccleſiaſtical eſtates, that the National Aſſembly publicly declared, they would conſider the care of the poor as one of their primary duties. They appointed alſo a committee of *mendicité*, whoſe buſineſs was to inquire into, and report to the Aſſembly, the ſtate of the poor, and their opinion of the beſt means of extinguiſhing indigence in France. Of this committee, the duke of Liancourt was chairman. In their third report, they ſtate to the Aſſembly the heads of thoſe propoſitions which they thought neceſſary to form the

baſe

baſe of a decree for that purpoſe. The committee examine, in this report, the idea of eſtabliſhing a poor's rate, and with great wiſdom abſolutely reject it. In their fourth report, they ſtate the miſchiefs of the Engliſh ſyſtem—and add, " Mais cet exemple eſt une grande & importante leçon pour nous: car, independament des vices qu'elle nous preſente, d'une dépenſe monſtreuſe, & d'un encouragement neceſſaire à la fainéantiſe, elle nous decouvre la plaie politique de l'Angleterre la plus dévorante, qu'il eſt egalement dangereux pour ſa tranquillité & ſon bonheur de détruire ou de laiſſer ſubſiſter*.—I am rather ſurpriſed, that while they ſeem perfectly well informed of the evils attending the miſchievous ſyſtem of England, they ſhould adopt the principle of our poor's laws, by declaring, that the poor have a right to pecuniary aſſiſtance from the ſtate; that the National Aſſembly ought to conſider ſuch proviſion as one of its firſt and moſt ſacred duties; and that an expence, with this view, ought to be incurred to the amount of fifty millions a year. I do not comprehend how it is poſſible to regard the expenditure of 50 millions as a ſacred duty, and not extend that 50 to 100, if neceſſity ſhould demand it—the 100 to 200—the 200 to 300—and ſo on in the ſame miſerable progreſſion, that has taken place in England. We have found, by long experience in England, that the more money is expended—

* *Quatriéme Rapport du Comite de Mendicité.* 8vo. 1790. p. 7.

even

even well and humanely expended, the more poor are created: and that the degree of indigence and miſery is exactly in proportion to the aſſiſtance given to them by rates. The ſame effect would certainly take place in France; the expenditure of 50 millions would inevitably make 100 neceſſary. It is in vain to ſay, that of that 50 there are 30 already expended by hoſpitals, and ſix * by the clergy; for the committee themſelves give ſuch a detail of the horrors of the hoſpitals, that a dependence on ſuch charity will not be among the regular reſources of the poor; and as to the eccleſiaſtical aſſiſtance, no families could rely on it as a matter of appropriated right. The caſe would be very different, if the National Aſſembly were ſolemnly to declare it their duty to provide for the poor, and aſſign 50 millions for that purpoſe; there would then be an univerſal reliance on that duty, and that humanity, of the legiſlature; and the conſequence we know by fatal experience. I cannot but be perſuaded, that the poor ought to be left to private charity, as they are in Scotland and in Ireland, to an infinitely better effect than reſults from the rates in England. In proportion as the public interferes, private charity is wounded, till the maintenance of the poor comes to be conſidered as one of the moſt grievous evils to which property is expoſed.

If fifty millions could be expended in France without creating a dependence, the burthen

* *Cinquiéme Rapport*, p. 21.

would

would be very moderate; but we are convinced of the utter impoſſibility of ſuch a caſe; we know that the wiſeſt diſpenſation of money amongſt the poor, not earned by induſtry, always creates a dependence, and conſequently becomes, in ſuch a proportion, the origin of the evil that is cured. For the like reaſon, hoſpitals, *if well adminiſtered*, are equal nuiſances; they are attended by a ſimilar effect, and the more that effect is leſſened by a vicious and cruel management, ſo much, perhaps, the better for the benefit of the great maſs of poor, who will not be tempted into a reliance on an abode of miſery, deſpair, and death. The expenditure of the poor's rates of England is certainly not free from abuſes, but they are, all things conſidered, leſs than might reaſonably be expected. They amount to above two millions ſterling, and I am confident, from a long and attentive obſervation of their effects upon the poor, that the maſs of human wretchedneſs is quadrupled by their influence; or, in other words, that for one perſon made eaſy, at the expence of the public, four are rendered poor or miſerable, by depending on that expence, inſtead of the exertions of private induſtry; and when it is conſidered, that on a moderate average the amount of our poor's rates increaſes in the proportion of near 100,000l. a year, of courſe approaching rapidly towards three millions, and at the ſame time curing no evils that they have not created, what ought to be thought of the political œconomy of our government, which, intent upon trifles, ne-

glects this growing and alarming evil? Had an act paſſed ten years ago, limiting theſe aſſeſſments to the average of the laſt ſeven years (a meaſure I urged in print for more than ten years paſt), it would have ſaved half a million a year in expenditure, and four times that amount in the prevention of poverty and diſtreſs. What has fatally obtained in England will take place in France, if the Engliſh *principle* be adopted, namely, that the ſtate is compelled in duty to ſupport the poor; fifty millions will be the forerunner of one hundred, and both of them the parent of increaſing miſery. It is not the ſtate, but individuals that are bound; and private charity is indiſputably the proper method. Foundling hoſpitals may be claſſed among the moſt miſchievous inſtitutions that can be eſtabliſhed; for they muſt certainly encourage that vicious procreation, which, from its miſery, does not deſerve the name of population. From the almoſt indiſcriminate deſtruction of the children they receive, which in France is ſo enormous, that of 101,000 in ſixteen years, 15,000 only were in exiſtence*, it might by ſome be thought, that they do not tend to increaſe the people; but the preſervation of the children, ſuppoſing them to effect it, would not be the principal operation. Such hoſpitals encourage marriage, from the certainty that the children need not remain a burthen

* *Rapport fait a nous du Comité de Mendicité des viſites faites dans divers Hôſpitaux*, 8vo. 1790. p. 27.

upon

upon the parents; but when the conflict comes in the mother's boſom, the feelings of nature will oftener triumph than the dictates of ſo infamous a crime as that of abandoning her offspring; and thus more children will be preſerved than expoſed. A government cannot, by any methods, encourage marriage without increaſing the people; for whatever tends to facilitate the maintenance of children, whether by an increaſe of induſtry, that ſhall enable children to ſupport themſelves, or by foundling hoſpitals, that remove the burthen altogether, the effect in the end will be inevitable. And this effect in France is of a moſt pernicious nature; for the competition for employment being already too great to permit the people to live with comfort, no inſtitutions to encourage population can take place there at preſent without entailing miſery upon the bulk of the nation. It may alſo be added, that the encouragement afforded by foundling hoſpitals, is an encouragement alſo of vice and inhumanity; and a public premium given to the baniſhment of the beſt feelings of the human boſom.

Riſe of Prices.

SOLOGNE——*La Ferté.*—Cattle of all kinds increaſed in price more than a third in one year. A cow from 48 liv. to 90 liv.; a horſe 7 or 8 louis to 12½; a hog 15 liv. to 30 liv. It has been owing to a want of forage.

BERRY—*Vatan.*——See two good cart-horſes, which were ſold this year for 20 louis each; and ſeveral farmers aſſerted, that a horſe which three years ago was worth 5 louis, would now bring 12.

LIMOSIN—*Limoges.*——The ſame quantity of cord wood, which was ſold 15 years ago at 50 liv. now ſells at 150 liv. Land greatly raiſed in its value and huſbandry doubly more productive than 20 years ago.

LANGUEDOC——*Bagnere de Luchon.*——The meaſure of land, called the coperade, which ſome years ſince ſold at 12 liv. is now at 24 liv. and even 30 liv.

Bayonne.——Within ten years, prices of every thing, including houſe-rent, very much increaſed.

Bourdeaux.——Very great increaſe in the price of every thing in ten years.

ISLE OF FRANCE——*Liancourt.*——Within ten years, the general expences of living, bread alone excepted, have riſen 50 per cent. and labour nearly in the ſame proportion.

NORMANDY——*Havre.*——A houſe, in 1779, let, without any fine, on a leaſe of ſix years, for 240 liv. per annum, was let this year again for three years, with a fine of 25 louis for 600 liv. per ann. A cellar, which is now 60 liv. was only 24 liv. 12 years paſt.

BRETAGNE—*Rennes.*—Cord of wood 16 liv. In 1740, it was $9\frac{1}{2}$ liv.

CHAMPAGNE—*St. Menehould.*—Cord of wood 18 liv. 10*ſ.*—but 25 years ago 7 liv. 10*ſ.*

LORAINE

LORAINE—*Pont au Mouſſon.*—The prices of all the neceſſaries of life riſen one-third in twenty years.

Luneville.——Cord of wood 26 liv. was, fifty two years ago, 9 liv.

Straſbourg.—Cord of wood 27 liv. which twenty years ago, was 12 to 15 liv.

FRANCHE COMPTE.———Thoſe eſtates, which twenty years ago ſold at 300 liv. now are at 800 liv.

Beſançon—Dole.—Meat now 7*ſ.* the pound—ſome years ago 4*ſ.*—A couple of fowls 24*ſ.* which were 12*ſ.*—In general every thing is doubled in price in ten years. *To what is this to be aſcribed?*—To the great increaſe of population. Such was the anſwer I received; there is, however, no manufacture in the country, iron forges excepted.

BOURGOGNE——*Dijon.*——Every thing raiſed in 20 years, cent. per cent. partly on account of the improvement of roads.

Obſervations.

There is ſcarcely any circumſtance in the political œconomy of France which makes ſo reſpectable a figure as that of the general riſe of prices, which has taken place in the laſt twenty years. This is a ſure ſign that the maſs of currency has conſiderably increaſed, which, in the caſe of that kingdom, muſt neceſſarily have ariſen from an increaſe of induſtry. We know that taxes cannot

have

have been the cauſe, as they have not in the ſame period been increaſed; or, at leaſt, to ſo ſmall an amount as to be irrelative to the queſtion. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this *apparent* proſperity (for this circumſtance is uſually concomitant with proſperity, though not of neceſſity flowing from it) is the ſtill miſerable ſtate of the labouring poor; it is rather a matter of ſurprize, that the price of labour has not riſen equally, or in ſome degree of proportion, with other things; this muſt probably be attributed to the too great populouſneſs of the kingdom, of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another chapter. Certain it is, that the miſery which we ſee amongſt the lower claſſes in France ſeems quite inconſiſtent with a great riſe in the price of commodities, occaſioned by an increaſe of induſtry and wealth; and as the price of labour continues ſo low as not to enable the people to ſupport themſelves tolerably, notwithſtanding the riſe of other prices, it affords a clear proof, as it has been juſt obſerved, that there is too great a competition for employment, ariſing from the exceſs of population in the kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Produce of France.

THIS may properly be conſidered as the great queſtion of political œconomy, in relation to the preſent ſtate of kingdoms; there being no circumſtance in the ſituation of any people, whether it concerns their wealth, proſperity, power, or reſources, but what muſt depend, in a high degree, on the produce of their lands. As it is a ſubject which becomes every day more intereſting, on account of the abuſes generated by the complex ſyſtem of modern taxation, it has naturally put politicians upon comparing the productions of a kingdom, and the contributions of the people, with the neceſſities, or rather vices, of their government. It is well known, that this proportion was ſought for with the moſt anxious ſolicitude by the *œconomiſtes*. They conceived, that *produce* ought alone to bear all the impoſitions which the government of any kingdom ſhould lay upon its ſubjects; a doctrine equally ill-founded and dangerous, but which has been dreſſed and decorated with ſo much ability as to have found advocates in every part of Europe. The conjectures which have been made of the groſs produce of all the lands in France, are innumerable. There has been ſcarce-

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ly a political writer on the affairs of that kingdom, for the laſt twenty years, who has not taken an opportunity, perhaps ill-afforded by his ſubject, to calculate the amount; but all the accounts that I have ſeen have been made on ſuch inſufficient data, that it is unintereſting whether the imagined reſult happens to be near to, or far from, the fact; ſince of ſo many random gueſſes it is hardly poſſible that all ſhould be remote from truth. Of the methods uſed in calculating the national produce by various French writers, two have been principally relied upon; the produce of certain taxes, particularly the *vingtiêmes*, and the quantity of food eaten by the people. More vague foundations could hardly have been ſought or deviſed; the taxes were laid with ſo little regard to a fair proportion, the exemptions were ſo numerous, and abuſes ſo univerſal, that the poſition of the ſtars might almoſt as well be reſorted to as a political guide. The conſumption of bread is almoſt equally unſatisfactory in a kingdom, where wheaten bread is not probably eaten by half the people; and where cheſnuts, maiz, harricots, and other legumes, form principal objects of conſumption. But if this difficulty were gotten over, in which there are no data that deſerve a moment's attention, we muſt alſo take into the account the conſumption of the earth's products, in meat, butter, cheeſe, liquors, fuel, timber, and all the variety of objects that adminiſter to, or are conſumed by manufactures, commerce, and ſhipping. However, though we have every reaſon imaginable to believe, that ſuch

data

data are abſolutely inſufficient for calculating the produce of a kingdom like France, yet juſtice ought to be done to the authors who have given attention to a ſubject of ſo much utility. Accuracy was not to be attained by purſuing any methods; but it muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe which they adopted, though not applicable to the ends they had in view, gave riſe to important diſquiſitions; and we owe to their labours ſome facts truly uſeful, and many obſervations deſerving attention. The extreme difficulty of forming the calculation in a ſatisfactory manner, appears clearly from the attempts that have been made by miniſters at the head of the national finances, and conſequently poſſeſſed of every opportunity which power could confer, to acquire whatever knowledge they ſought; yet the ideas have been as vague and unſatisfactory as thoſe of ſpeculatiſts, who have been devoid of ſuch advantages. It ſhould ſeem, that it is not in the bureau or the cloſet that data for this calculation are to be ſought; but that he who would know what the lands of a kingdom produce, ſhould view and examine them. It would be madneſs in a traveller like myſelf to pretend that it is poſſible to give a true eſtimate of the productions of a kingdom from viewing but a part of it: I know the difficulties and hazard of the undertaking too well to have any ſuch pretenſions; and all I would aſſume, is nothing more than the probability that my eſtimate of the part I ſaw is not greatly removed from fact. Thirty years experience, I hope, have contributed

to enable me to form more than a vague conjecture of the products of any country that I view with attention; and when it is considered, that my journies, in almost every direction, amount to several thousands of miles, there will not appear to be any great hazard in supposing, that the average of such a portion, corrected on reflection and from information relative to the parts not seen, cannot be very far distant from the real one of the whole kingdom.

To pursue this inquiry, I shall divide France not into generalities, which have no longer any existence, nor into departments, which are yet hardly in existence, but into districts relatively to their soil, according to the map which is annexed to the chapter of soils.—The method by which I made the estimate is this; in viewing the country, I combined those circumstances which strike the eye in regard to soil, crops, proportion of those crops, of vines, of wood, and waste, with the courses and the products of all sorts by information; and from the whole deduced the conclusion of what I conceived was the annual produce; and at each stage, or resting-place, struck the average of the preceding ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, which were afterwards, in some instances, thrown into divisions, by calculating the average of larger districts of country. I give, in another chapter, the produce of corn, and price per acre at which the cultivated parts of the districts I travelled through are let and sold; but the reader will carry in his mind, that the present view of the

produce

produce of the kingdom has nothing in common with what is juſt mentioned; for the object here in contemplation is, the average product of all ſorts of land, heath, rock, marſh, and mountain, as well as cultivated fields; tracks of which it is in vain to demand the produce, ſince not one inhabitant in a thouſand ever thought of them with any ſuch view: in countries where agriculture is ſo ill underſtood, and where the peaſants are ſo little enlightened, a traveller will come out of a province as ignorant as he entered it, if he has no other means of information.

Northern District of Rich Loam.

Contains the Provinces of Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Normandy, and the Iſle of France.

Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.
To Amiens,	95	39s.
Clermont,	40	43
To Orleans,	70	46
Fetiviers,	25	49
Malſherbs,	11	52
Fontainbleau,	17	47
The Foreſt,	7	0
Yerſaint,	10	43
Paris,	20	52
Liancourt,	38	52
Pontoiſe,	30	39
Dammartin,	22	60
Villeſcoterets,	26	55
Coucy,	24	54
St. Quintin,	30	43
Cambray,	22	45
Valenciennes,	18	43
Orchies,	16	120
Lille,	16	100
Mont Caſſel,	30	90
Dunkirk,	18	70
Calais,	25	22
St. Omers,	45	35
Bethune,	25	80
Arais,	17	45
Dourlens,	20	45
Amiens,	17	45
Poix,	15	36
Aumale,	10	45
Neufchatel,	18	45
Rouen,	25	60
Barentin,	10	50
Yvetot,	11	60
Havre,	30	60
Pont au de Mer,	29	60
Pont l'Eveque,	20	70
Lifieux,	6	80
Caen,	27	75
Bayeux,	15	50
Caventan,	22	80
Vologne,	17	70

Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.
Gacé,	10	60	Eccouls,	15	60
Bernay,	25	32	Rouen,	20	60
Bonterode,	17	80	Tote,	17	50
Elbœuf,	7	60	Dieppe,	17	53
Rouen,	10	16	Nangis,	45	53
Louviers,	17	30	Meaux,	23	40
Vernon,	15	55	Ditto,	10	80
Magny,	15	50			

Miles, 1220.——Average produce, 2l. 13s. 9¼d.

There is not the ſame difficulty in calculating the produce of this tract of rich land, as in ſome other provinces, where the ſoil is much more various.—Bad huſbandry and fallows occaſion a much greater deduction here, than inferiority of ſoil. No particular reaſons induce me at preſent to lower this eſtimate, except, perhaps, the foreſts of Chantilly and Villeſcoterets, may not have been croſſed in ſuch directions as to allow ſufficient deductions; but of this I am in doubt. Conſidering, however, the number of foreſts which are within theſe limits, which I did not paſs, I am inclined to make the further allowance of 3s. 9¼d. and ſet down this average product at 2l. 10s.

Plain of Alſace.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Straſbourg,	22	70s.	Colmar,	12	50s.
Sheleſtadt,	25	60	Iſenheim,	25	45

Miles, 84.——Average produce, 2l. 16s. 8½d.

Much of this diſtrict is not ſo rich as a great part of the former; but the ſoil within theſe limits

more

more equal—and of courſe not ſuch deductions on account of foreſt.

The Limagne.

Riom to Izoire. Miles, 20.——Average produce, 5l.

This celebrated volcanic vale is very narrow; and in this eſtimate nothing is included but the mere vale; if the ſlopes were to be included, the produce would not be more than 45s.

Plain of the Garonne.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
In Quercy,	90	60s	Aiguillon,	17	85s.
To Pyrenees,	103	50	Tonneins,	8	120
Fleuran,	14	50	Reolle,	22	100
Leitour,	5	60	Bourdeaux,	15	60
Leyrac,	17	80			

Miles, 291.——Average produce, 3l. 3s. 3¼d.

As this route carried us very much on the banks of the Garonne, one of the richeſt vales in the world, though not wide, I am not inclined to raiſe this eſtimate on account of the immenſe vineyards of the Pays de Medoc, &c. which ſhould be done, if I had not pretty much extended the diſtrict, as may be ſeen on the map. Not having viſited the Bas Poitou, another rich track, which may be claſſed with the above mentioned, I am unable to give any other eſtimate than I was favoured with by an intelligent gentleman, who apparently knew it very well; he aſſured me, that the moſt exact calculation of its produce was

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50 liv. per arpent de Paris:—this is 2l. 10s. 9d. per Engliſh Acre.

Obſervations,

In theſe parts of France, which are undoubtedly the richeſt, the produce is very much beneath what it would become with a more enlightened practice.——Flanders, part of Artois, Alſace, the vale of the Garonne, and the Limagne of Auvergne, are the only diſtricts of the kingdom where fallows are baniſhed; and the great products of thoſe territories ſhew the prodigious conſequence of this improvement. They form, however, but a ſmall portion of the diviſion of the kingdom which we are conſidering at preſent; the arable part of the reſt is uniformly applied in the barbarous courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; the products are conſequently much inferior to what they ought to be; and the number of horſes much greater. Conſiderable tracks are in open fields, and ſhackled with the rights of comomnage, and preſcribed rotations. As the national Aſſembly has paſſed a decree againſt incloſures, and there are no ſuch methods known in France to effect the allotment of open fields, as we practice ſo beneficially in England; and as power in that country, under the new conſtitution, reſides very much in the people, we may take for granted, that ſuch methods will either not be adopted at all, which is the moſt probable, or at leaſt very ſlowly and incompletely.—

ly.—In whatever manner the improvement is introduced, and by whatever preparatory ſteps, it is certain, that the management of theſe diſtricts muſt be very much changed, before they can be made to yield a produce adequate to the great excellency of the ſoil.

DISTRICT OF HEATH.

Contains the Provinces of Bretagne, Anjou, Parts of Normandy, and Guienne and Gaſcoign.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Carentan to Perry.	10	80s.	Quimperlay,	15	19
Coutances,	10	50	L'Orient,	12	26
Avranches,	30	50	Hennebon,	7	30
Pont Orſin,	10	50	Auray,	17	13
Doll,	10	45	Vannes,	10	14
Hedé,	18	20	Muſiliac,	15	24
Rennes,	13	35	La Roche Bernard,	10	13
Montauban,	20	45	Auvergnac,	20	28
Broons,	12	40	St. Nazaire,	18	40
Lamballe,	17	32	Savanel,	15	28
St. Brieux,	12	40	Nantes,	20	15
Guingamp,	17	30	Ancenis,	22	75
Belleiſle,	12	40	St. George,	17	80
Morlaix,	20	35	Ditto,	5	50
Breſt,	34	30	Angers,	10	38
Faou,	10	17	Duretal,	30	40
Chateaulin,	10	23	Guereeſland,	17	26
Quimper,	15	13	Le Mans,	10	8
Roſpolin,	12	20	Alençon,	30	40
			Nonant,	16	36

Miles, 608.—— Average produce, 1l. 14s. 9¾d.

Guienne and Gaſcoign.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Bagnere de Luchon to Monrejeau,	18	20s.	Navarens,	22	45
Bagnere Bigore,	25	30	St. Palais,	15	40
Paur.	32	40	Anſpan,	14	18
			Bayonne,	12	20
			Tartaſs,	40	16

St.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
St. Severe,	15	40	Beek,	17	45
Plaiſance,	35	45	Auch,	14	54

Miles, 259.——Average produce, 1l. 13s. 9d.

I have not much apprehenſion that my eſtimate, of the lands in theſe provinces through which my route led me, is materially erroneous; but there is great reaſon to doubt, whether the tracks I travelled through be ſimilar to the provinces at large. I have very little doubt, on the contrary, that the road conducted me, both in Bretagne and Guienne, through a track ſuperior to the average of thoſe countries. I was informed of ſome immenſe heaths in Bretagne, which had ſcarcely a houſe in ten leagues; and from the communication of a nobleman, perfectly well acquainted with the province, I have traced in the map a large track, in which the cultivation is quite inconſiderable—of ſuch diſtricts I ſaw little. And in Guienne, the *landes* of Bourdeaux have been notorious, and almoſt proverbial, for ſome centuries. I have been aſſured, that they do not contain leſs than 300 ſquare leagues, or 1,468,181 Engliſh acres. It muſt not, however, be imagined, that all theſe, or nearly all, are waſte; for the greater part is covered with pines that yield from 15s. to 20s. an acre. Much, however, is really waſte and deſerves the French appellation, *lande*. This immenſe diſtrict probably occupies about one-ſixth part of all I have remarked of Gaſcoign; five-ſixths at the average noted, of 1l. 13s. 9d. and one-ſixth, three-fourths at 15s.

and

and one-fourth, at 2s. 6d. being mere waſte;—the medium of this ſixth, therefore, is 11s. 10d.; or, for the whole, 1l. 10s. 1d.—The proportion of waſtes, in Bretagne, is not well aſcertained; I was aſſured, on no mean authority, that tow-fifths of the whole province are uncultivated; and by a very intelligent nobleman, that even of 39 parts, 24 are *lande*, which amounts to three-fifths. And the author of the *Conſiderations ſur le Commerce de Bretagne*, who knew it well, ſays, p. 30, that one-third of it is in that ſtate. The part I viſited, is not the worſt; yet from what I ſaw, I can eaſily credit there are three-fifths in that ſtate. Anjou and Maine are equally noted for the immenſity of their heaths (*bruyeres*), which are reported to extend 60 leagues at one place. In going from La Flêche to Tourbilly, I ſaw more than in any other quarter, but heard ſo much of them from perſons I could depend upon, that I am clear my own notes of the country I paſſed through go a good deal beyond the fair average of the whole: a conſideration which will induce me to calculate the three provinces of Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, with that part of Normandy not included in the rich loam diviſion, at 28s. It would ſwell theſe papers too much, to ſpecify all my reaſons for this eſtimation, which I have not made without duly adverting to various circumſtances that affect the produce in different quarters of theſe provinces.

Obſervations.

One pound eight ſhillings average produce of all the lands of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and a conſiderable part of Normandy, ſome of which territories poſſeſs ſingular advantages, evidently marks the miſerable ſtate of agriculture. I am within bounds, when I offer the opinion, that the whole of this diſtrict, containing above fifteen millions of acres, and, with great probability, twelve millions capable of improvement, might be made to produce, on an average, 2l. 5s. per acre, without any extraordinary efforts; were the farmers induced to change their methods, and adopt new rotations of crops. Thus 17s. an acre would be gained to the community, which, on twelve millions, amounts to 10,200,000l. a year. Improvements, on the heaths of Bourdeaux, that is, in the Gaſcoign diviſion, are not equally obvious, becauſe on immenſe tracks the *proprietor* receives as much perhaps at preſent from pines, as he would receive were the whole in cultivation. But the difference to the nation is prodigious; it is not the net income of the landlord which makes a kingdom proſperous; it is the groſs produce of the lands; this, on the heaths above-mentioned, would be trebled, though the landlords gained nothing. But there are on theſe heaths very conſiderable tracks not occupied by pines, but, on the contrary, left abſolutely waſte; I paſſed many of them which were noticed in other parts of this work; theſe are capable of as great an improvement as the heaths

heaths of Bretagne: at preſent, they produce nothing, but are all capable of yielding from 40s. to 50s. an acre. If, however, they were converted into *good* ſheep-walk only, the advantage would be very conſiderable.

District of Chalk.

Containing the Provinces of Champagne, Sologne, Touraine, Poitou, Saintogne, and Angoumois.

Acroſs Sologne. Miles, 50.——Average produce, 5s.

		Miles.	Produce.
Angoumois.—Cavignac to Monlieu,		15	4s. 6d.
Barbeſieux,	-	22	24
Angoulême,	-	25	24
Verteuil,	-	27	24

Miles, 89.——Average produce, 1l. 0s. 8½d.

		Miles.	Produce.
Poitou.—Vivonne,		35	35s.
Poitiers,	-	12	25
Chateaurault,	-	25	25

Miles, 72.——Average produce, 1l. 9s. 10½d.

		Miles.	Produce.
Touraine.—To Tours,		25	40s.
Saumur,		10	60
Amboiſe,		17	40
Blois,		25	60

Miles, 77.——Average produce, 2l. 9s. 1d.

		Miles.	Produce.
Champagne.——Near Maux to Chateau Thiery,		30	40s.
Epernay,	-	25	40
Rheims,	-	15	50
La Loge,	-	12	10
Chalons,	-	12	10
Ove,	-	15	20
St. Menehoud,		15	27

Miles, 124.——Average produce, 1l. 13s. 5d.

I received no information relating to the parts of Poitou, Turaine, and Sologne, which I had not examined, that gives me reaſon to doubt of the general reſemblance between the different diſtricts of thoſe provinces. I was, however, aſſured, that if I ſaw more of Angoumois, I ſhould form a better opinion of it than from the part I had viewed: ſuch hints, from perſons of obſervation, ought not to be diſregarded; and will induce me to ſuppoſe the average value ſomething higher, *viz.* 1l. 4s.—This province is ſaid, by an author who has written upon it, to contain——arable, 437,000 journals;——vines, 290,000;—graſs, 145,000;—woods, 107,400;—*chaumes*, 88,000;—total, 1,067,400. Beſide foreſts and waſtes.—What *chaumes* means, diſtinct from arable land, I know not; unleſs it be arable left to weeds for ſome years, after being exhauſted by crops*. The caſe with Champagne is exceedingly different:—a very conſiderable portion of that province, which I did not view, is called *Pouilleux*, or louſy, from its poverty of ſoil—a poor hungry chalk. But my route, except from Rheims to Chalons, was in the vale of the Marne, and through the fineſt vineyards of the province. The provincial aſſembly of Chalons ſent to the miniſtry a repreſentation of the condition

* *Eſſai d'une methode a etendre les Connoiſances des Voyageurs*, par M. Meunier. 8vo. 1779. tom. i. p. 176.

of

of the whole province, in which they gave a detail of its products as follows:

Extent, in arpents,	4,000,000	Of which wood,	850,000
		meadow,	150,000
		vines,	100,000
		commons,	97,000
		vague,	160,000
		arable,	2,643,000
			4,000,000

Total groſs produce, - 60,000,000 liv.—— Or per arpent, 15 liv.

Repreſentations of this kind, however, are rarely deſerving of much attention, in thoſe circumſtances that concern the value or income of land, for it is always the intereſt of ſuch bodies to ſink the value; and no doubt can be entertained in the preſent caſe; as it is impoſſible, that the valuation of 15 liv. can be juſt, if there be the quantity of vines, meadow, and arable lands here ſpecified; ſince theſe alone muſt, in the nature of things, produce much more than 60,00,000 liv. For the vines at 150 liv.—the meadows at 80 liv.—and the arable at no more than 20 liv. amount to 79,860,000 liv.—If the wood were to yield no more than 10 liv. it adds 8,500,000 liv. making 88,360,000 liv. withuot reckoning a livre for the reſt. Inſtead of 15 liv. per arpent on the whole, I have no heſitation at all in calculating at 25 liv. which makes 1l. 6s. 3d. per acre.

Reca-

Recapitulation.

Sologne,	59 miles,	at 5s.	£.	12	10	0
Angoumois,	89	at 1l. 4s.		106	16	0
Poitou.	72	at 1l. 9s. 10¼d.		107	9	6
Touraine,	77	at 2l. 9s. 1d.		188	19	5
Champagne,	124	at 1l. 6s. 3d.		162	15	2
	412			578	9	11

Average, 1l. 8s.

Obſervations.

The produce of theſe wretched provinces, riſing ſo high as 28s. is, in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to vines, which, it is always to be noted is a branch of cultivation better underſtood than any other in France, if we may judge from the general ſucceſs that attends it. Without the aid of the vineyards, the average produce of the chalk diſtricts would be low indeed. Nothing can be worſe cultivated, or rather more neglected. Sainfoin is known, and yet no uſe is made of it, comparatively ſpeaking; ſo little underſtood, that I have ſeen the farmers ſedulouſly ſummer-fallowing a field at no ſlight expence, in order to get ſome miſerable rye and oats, while his adjoining field was abandoned to nature, as not worth cultivating. The chalk provinces contain 16 millions of acres; and the whole are ſuſceptible of a very eaſy and obvious improvement, to the amount of 15s. an acre. which, on 12 millions only, would add nine millions ſterling per annum to the wealth and proſperity of the nation; and would ſtill be capable of much greater improvement,

ment, and yet would be far behind what we are well acquainted with in ſome parts of England.

District of Gravel.

Contains Bourbonnois and Nevernois.

	Miles.	Produce.
Autun to Luzy,	22	15s.
Chavanne,	27	15
Moulins, -	10	15
Riaux, -	10	12
St. Poncrin,	30	26
Roanne to Moulins,	45	15
St. P. le Mont, -	18	12
Magny, -	7	30
Pogues, -	8	- 39
La Charité, -	8	25
Pouilly, -	9	50
Croiſſiere, -	47	25

Miles, 241.——Average produce, 1l. os. 6½d.

I ſaw too little of the Nevernois to judge of its equalizing what I remarked in other ſimilar tracks, and therefore having given theſe products from information, on comparing them with other diſtricts I knew much better. There are no particular circumſtances that make the attainment of ſomething approaching accuracy difficult. My information at Moulins was, that three-fourths of the Bourbonnois are heath, broom, or wood; if any thing like this be true, I certainly am not too low in the eſtimation, but probably above

Obſerva-

Obſervations.

Theſe muſt be ranked among the moſt improveable of the French provinces. The agriculture that is carried on here (1 fallow, 2 rye), is hardly better than that of Sologne, though the crops are ſuperior. The whole country being incloſed, there is little wanted but to change the courſe of huſbandry, and to multiply and improve the breed of ſheep. A farmer, with a little money, and much ſkill, would no where make a fortune ſooner than in the Bourbonnois.—Theſe provinces, inſtead of 20s. an acre, ought to produce 33s. which, over more than three millions of acres, would be an improvement of ſome conſequence to the nation.

District of Stoney Soils.

Contains Loraine, Bourgogne, Franche Compté, &c.

	Miles.	Produce		Miles.	Produce.
St. Menehoud to Metz,	62	27s.	Beſançon	17	30s.
Pont a Mouſſon,	17	36	Orechamps,	12	30
Nancy,	17	35	Dole,	10	30
Luneville,	17	40	Dijon,	28	45
Savern,	49	33	Beaune,	22	85
Befort,	28	30	Mont Cenis,	28	40
Beaume,	35	25	Autun,	20	18

Miles, 362.——Average produce, 1l. 15s.

From information, on which I have reaſon to depend, I am inclined to believe, that the line traverſed, in theſe provinces, is a good deal richer, and

and more cultivated than the average of them; which is a natural ſuppoſition, from the road leading very much in vales by rivers, and by many conſiderable towns: on this account, it will be proper to make a deduction of 6s. an acre, and to calculate the average produce at 1l. 9s.—Commons are of an immenſe extent in Loraine, and yield ſcarcely any thing; for the cattle that are ſtarved, rather than kept on them, are attended with the ſame loſs, want, and even miſery, which we ſee ſo often in England.—50s. an acre ought, moderately ſpeaking, to be the produce of theſe provinces, in which I ſaw no bad land; or ſo little, as not to prevent any general concluſions. Here is, therefore, a deficiency of a guinea an acre over 15 or 16 millions of acres.

District of Various Loams.

Contains Limoſin, Berry, and La Marche.

	Miles.	Produce.
Acroſs Berry,	60	30s.
La Marche and Limoſin,	130	32

Miles, 190.——Average produce, 1l. 11s. 4¼d.

Theſe provinces are diſgraced by miſerable huſbandry, though poſſeſſing the advantage of a good climate, and a ſoil almoſt every where good. Even the ſands are of a quality which well adapts them to very profitable courſes of huſbandry, that are here utterly unknown. The produce, inſtead of 31s. ought to be 50s.—for the whole country that I ſaw is incloſed, and wants little more

than a ſkilful variation in the courſes of crops. Here is a loſs of 19s. an acre over ſix or ſeven millions.

District of Mountain.

Contains Auvergn, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, &c.

	Miles.	Produce.
Rouſſillon,	56	30s.
Languedoc.		
Narbonne to Nimes,	94	50
Pont du Gard,	12	38
Gange,	30	30
Lodeve,	36	5
Beziers,	40	15
Carcaſſonne,	40	40
Fanjour,	16	30
St. Martory.	86	27
Le Puy,	15	25
Pradelles,	20	20
Thuytz,	20	2s. 6d.
Villeneuve,	22	10
Montelimart,	20	25

Miles, 507.——Average produce, 1l. 8s. 6¼d.

	Miles.	Produce.
Dauphine.		
L'Oriol,	15	60s.
Pierelatte,	15	6
Orange,	20	28
Pont Beauvoiſon to Lyons,	46	35
Lyonnois.		
Les Arnas,	17	30
Roanne,	28	25
Provence.		
Avignon,	19	26
Liſle,	16	60
Vaucluſe,	20	45
Organ,	12	60
Salon,	15	15
St. Canat,	20	28
Aix,	12	60
Tour d'Aigues,	20	30
Marſeilles,	20	38
Cuges,	21	25
Toulon,	20	10
Hyeres,	10	60
Frejus,	30	5
Cano,	22	5
Nice,	25	10

Miles, 423.——Average produce, 1l. 8s. 8½d.

	Miles.	Produce.
Auvergne.—Riom,	20	30s.
Briude,	17	40
Fix,	20	15.

Miles, 57.——Average produce, 1l. 7. 8d.

The

The author of the *Hiſtoire des Plantes de Dauphiné*, ſays in his preface, that if that province were divided into three parts, three-fourths of one would be cultivated; more than three-fourths of another mountain, and uncultivated; half the third mountain, and one-half in culture. I am inclined to think, that theſe notes do not materially vary from truth, except in the caſe of Languedoc, which here appears inferior in produce to what I conceive to be the fact, or reaſons too complex to detail at preſent. I have reflected on various circumſtances connected with this queſtion, and believe I ſhall be well founded in eſtimating that province at 1l. 11s. inſtead of 1l. 8s. 6d.

507 miles, at 1l. 11s. per mile.—423 at 1l. 8s. 8d½.—57 at 1l. 7s. 8d.——Average, 1l. 9s. 9d.

Thoſe of my readers, who have travelled only through the vale, ſo rich in various productions, that reaches from Narbonne to Niſmes; who have viewed the exuberant fertility of the watered grounds of Avignon to Vaucluſe, or the rich borders of the Rhone at Montelimart, or the vale waſhed by the Iſere, will find it difficult to believe, that provinces which can preſent ſuch pictures of fertility ſhould, on an average, produce no more than what has been ſtated; but they ſhould have in their recollection the proportion of the whole diſtrict that is mountainous. None of the vales, through which I travelled, are of any conſiderable breadth, except the vicinity of Toulouze. That

from Narbonne to Nimes, which is the moſt celebrated for its productions, is no where more than a few leagues acroſs: mountains are every where contiguous; and I croſſed very extenſive tracks of theſe that appeared to be the leaſt productive of any land I ſaw in France. The Vivarais has been extolled for its cultivation; ſome vales and ſlopes undoubtedly evince much induſtry: but they are uſually accompanied by tracks often and twenty times the extent that yield little. I muſt make the ſame remark on this diſtrict of mountain that I have done on ſo many other occaſions; every part, except the rich vales, is capable of great and palpable improvement. I examined the mountains between Gange and Lodeve with attention, becauſe they appeared to be in a ſtate of the moſt miſerable neglect, and the leaſt productive of any I ſaw in Languedoc; and I am confident they might with great eaſe be made to produce four times as much as they yield at preſent, were they improved for ſheep only. A ſyſtem of tillage is too much introduced, by ſmall proprietors, on all the mountains of France; they ſhould be tilled with no other view than of being prepared for graſſes, and for profit derived by means of ſheep and cattle, eſpecially the former. This vaſt portion of the kingdom, containing 28 millions of acres, might, with very moderate exertions be brought to produce 15 millions ſterling more than at preſent; and ſtill be far from that pitch of improvement of which it is really capable.

GENERAL

General Recapitulation.

In order to aſcertain the proportional areas of the ſeveral diviſions into which I have thrown the kingdom, according to the ſoil of it, I procured a copy of the map to be made on a ſheet of paper of equal and ſimilar thickneſs, as exactly as could be choſen; and then cut out, with a fine pair of ſciſſars, the ſeveral diviſions, which were firſt weighed ſeparately, and afterwards the whole together. All France weighed 413 weights, equal to one fourth of a grain. The ſeveral diviſions as follows:

The rich diſtrict of the N. E. 57 parts of 413.—The plain of the Garonne 24.—The plain of Alſace 2.—The Bas Poitou, &c. 6.

Rich Loam, - - - 89

Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and part of Normandy 48.—Part of Guienne and Gaſcoign 32.

Heath, - - - 80

Mountain,—containing Auvergne, Languedoc, Rouſſillon, Rouerge, Provence, and Dauphiné. (Of theſe Dauphiné by itſelf 14.) - - - - 90

Chalk,—containing Champagne, and part of Argoumois, Poitou, and Touraine, Iſle of France, Sologne, &c. 52

Gravel,—containing the Bourbonnois, and Nevernois, - - - - 28

Stone,—containing Loraine, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and part of Alſace, - - - 64

Sand, granite, gravel, ſtone, &c. containing the Limoſin, La Marche, Berry, &c. - - - 26

413

The

The queſtion ariſing from theſe proportions, is the following:—If 413 give 131,722,295 acres, what will be the proportional quantities of theſe diviſions reſpectively? The anſwers are theſe.

	Acres.	Acres.
Rich Diſtrict of the N. E.	18,179,590	
Plain of the Garonne,	7,654,564	
Plain of Alſace,	637,880	
Bas Poitou, &c.	1,913,641	
Rich Loam,		28,385,675
Bretagne, Anjou, &c.	15,307,128	
Guienne, &c.	10,206,085	
Heath,		25,513,213
Mountain,		28,707,037
Chalk,		16,584,889
Gravel,		3,827,282
Stone,		20,412,171
Sand. &c.		8,292,444
		131,722,711
Error in weighing,		416

And the products of theſe diviſions, according to the preceding minutes, are,

	Acres.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Rich Loam,	28,385,675	—	2	13	9½	76,345,638	7	9½
Heath,	25,513,213	—	1	8	9½	36,754,972	9	6½
Mountain,	28,797,037	—	1	9	9	42,701,717	10	9
Chalk,	16,584,889	—	1	8	0	23,218,844	12	0
Gravel,	3,827,282	—	1	0	6½	3,930,937	11	1
Stone,	20,412,171	—	1	15	0	35,721,299	5	0
Sand,	8,292,444	—	1	11	4½	12,950,133	11	3
	131,722,711		1	15	1½	231,623,543	7	5½

The meaſurement of the kingdom here given, includes its whole ſurface; roads, rivers, canals, towns, &c.; wherefore a deduction muſt be made from the total area, and alſo from the total produce, calculated at the above mentioned average per acre. Mr. Necker tells us, there are 9000 leagues of roads in France. Let us allow

10 toi-

10 toiſes of breadth, which is not too much, conſidering not only the great width of the roads themſelves, but the waſte of ground they occaſion on each ſide; this will give for the whole 228,200 arpents of Paris, or 193,207 Engliſh acres. Rivers probably occupy a much larger ſpace. If the number of acres be ſuppoſed 131,000,000, and the 722,711 be given up for all theſe deductions we poſſibly may not be far from the truth; as it is to be remembered, that foreſts, woods, heaths, waſtes and commons, are included in the calculation.

	Acres.	£.	s.	d.	£.
Total	131,722,711 -	1	15	1¼	231,623,543
Deduct,	722,711 -			-	1,268,506
	31,000,000				230,355,037
	In livres tourn.		40	-	5,240,000,000

The next inquiry, which is not unimportant, is concerning the diviſion of this total produce into the moſt material articles that compoſe it, ſuch as wheat and rye; vines; wood; arable land in general; meadow and paſture:——this is a much more difficult inquiry; for the data on which the calculation is to be made are uncertain, and diſputed. By one writer *, the lands *in culture* are aſſerted to be 112,760,000 arpents. By another 70,470,000 †. By a third, 65,000,000 ‡. By a

* The Maréchal de Vauban.

† *Apol. ſur l'Edict de Nantes.* Voltaire.

fourth,

fourth, the arable is calculated at 40,000,000 §. Another makes 60,000,000 of winter and ſpring corn and fallow ‖. Another, 18,000,000 of wheat and rye, as much of ſpring corn, and as much of fallow ¶. The authors of the Encyclopædia eſtimate the corn, cultivation, and fallow, at 50,000,000 *. The marquis de Mirabeau makes the ſame 60,000,000 †; in which a later author ‡ agrees with him, calculating by the conſumption of the people. Monſ. Dellay d'Agier, in the National Aſſembly, calculated the arable at 70,000,000 §§ ——It is ſufficiently evident, from the variety of theſe accounts, that their authors did not calculate on the ſame data. The common conſumption of bread corn, by the people of France, is known, from many obſervations and experiments, to be three ſeptiers a head for both ſexes and all ages, on an average. Now, if we compute the people at 25,000,000 (and we cannot at a leſs number), this makes 75,000,000 of ſeptiers, each of 240 lb. French weight, or 342,105,263 Engliſh buſhels, at 57 lb. If, therefore, the average product be 18 buſhels per acre, there are conſequently 19,005,847 acres employed in raiſing that quantity

§ Du Pont; *de l' Exp. & Imp. des Grains* Soiſſons. 1764. p. 150.

‖ De *l' Aminiſt. des Finances*, par M. Malpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 31.

¶ *Recherches ſur la Houille & Engrais*, tom. ii. p. 3.

* Tom. vi. p. 533. Folio edit.

† *Theorie de l' Impôt*. p. 142.

‡ *Credit National*. 1789. p. 102.

§§ *Balance du Commerce*. 1791. tom. 2. p. 229.

of

of bread corn. Reckoning the ſeed at 2½ buſhels an acre, there muſt be allowed farther 3,006,325 acres; in all 22,012,172 acres. But here it is neceſſary to remark, that many of the people in France eat but little rye, and no wheat: in part of Normandy and Bretagne, they live very much, though not entirely, upon buck-wheat. In Limoſin, La Marche, and in part of Languedoc, they eat cheſnuts abundantly; and through the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, they are nouriſhed principally by maiz. To ſuppoſe, therefore, that the quantity of land here noted is all under wheat or rye, would be a groſs error. It is, however, very probable, that thoſe two products, with maiz, do not occupy a leſs extent; which calculation would ſet the buck-wheat, millet, potatoes, cheſnuts, &c. againſt the portion of wheat, rye, and maiz conſumed by cattle and manufactures; but this ſuppoſition has no data for its foundation. There is a conſiderable export of wheat flour to the Weſt-Indies, but no notice can be taken of it here, as the kingdom, on the other hand, imports largely.——About two-thirds of the arable lands in France, as I conjecture from reviewing the article of courſes of crops, are under the rotation of three years, *viz.* 1, fallow 2, wheat or rye; 3, ſpring corn, or ſome other courſe ſimilar in its reſult. The other third is made up of a great variety of courſes, that cannot be brought to a ſtandard for drawing any concluſions. In ſome diſtricts, the courſe is for two years; but in the greater part it is for more than three. Hence we may ſafely conclude, that

the arable lands of the kingdom exceed rather than fall ſhort of thrice 22 millions of acres, or in the whole 66 millions. I ſhould conceive, that they cannot be leſs than 70. The fallows amount to 15 or 16 millions.

Vines.

Notwithſtanding the aides and cuſtoms afford ſome aſſiſtance towards calculating the conſumption and export of wine, yet it is very difficult to eſtimate with any degree of certainty, the quantity of vineyards in the kingdom. Of this difficulty, we may judge, by obſerving the amazing difference in the reports of French writers. Monſ. le Trône *, who appears generally very well informed, gives 1,600,000 arpents for their extent; this is the ſame as the calculation of M. de Mirabeau †; but another writer, who publiſhed one year after only, calculates the quantity (however from very vague ideas) at 18,000,000 ‡——Monſ. Lavoiſier ſuppoſes the produce 80,000,000 liv. §——The *œconomiſtes*, of the *Encyclopædie*, make the annual produce 500,000,000 liv. ‖. This, at the average produce of 175 liv. per acre (ſee the chapter on

* *De l' Adminiſtration Provincial de l' Impôt.* 8vo. tom. 1788. tom. i. p. 293.

† *Theorie de l' Impôt.* p. 126.

Credit National. 8vo. 1789. p. 106.

§ *Réſultats d'un Ouvrage remis au Comité de l' Impoſition.* 8vo. 1791. p. 35.

‡ Art. *Grains.*

vines).

vines) makes 2,857,142 acres. If we deduct from this ſum of 500,000,000 liv. that of 40,000,000, which is nearly the export of wine and brandy, there will remain 460,000,000 liv. for the home conſumption of France.——1*ſ.* per diem for 25,000,000 of people, amounts to 456,250,000 liv.; but I cannot conceive that this is an adequate allowance, poor as the lower claſſes are in France. Yet that the author of *Credit National* has committed a groſs error, will appear from conſidering, that 18,000,000 of arpens de Paris, which is his calculation, producing in the proportion of 175 liv. per Engliſh acre, amount to about 3000 millions of livres; that is to ſay, nearly as much as many writers make the whole land produce of France. I cannot, however, agree, as I have juſt obſerved, to the calculation of 1*ſ.* per diem for the home conſumption; the number of people in the kingdom, who either drink their own wine, or are provided with it by their maſters, in both which caſes the conſumption is void of that œconomy which always takes place in a greater degree when the commodity is *bought*, muſt render ſuch a calculation below the truth: for it is to be remembered, that the 1*ſ.* per diem is a mark only of that quantity of wine which 1*ſ.* repreſents in the market; but which, in ſo many inſtances, is neither bought nor ſold. I met with labourers in Languedoc, who drank each three bottles of ſtrong wine a day; and I ſaw, amongſt the poor, in every part of the kingdom, an appearance of a pretty regular conſumption, either of wine or cyder; and recourſe

was not had to water, but in caſe of failing crops. If, by calculating the conſumption at 2*ſ.* a-day, I meant that ſo much *money* was thus *expended*, the idea would be abſurd and extravagant; but in this caſe, through all the wine provinces, no *expenditure* takes place; an immenſe quantity is conſumed which is neither bought nor ſold——and which, in plentiful years, has no value: money is here merely a meaſure of quantity. *Price* conſidered, the conſumption per head of 4½*ſ.* at Paris is twenty times greater than 2*ſ.* for the whole kingdom. If the reader be not very careful in this combination, he muſt of neceſſity think the eſtimate high; but, taken as a calculation of the real money-payment, probably would not be near 1*ſ.* But the ſoil as much produces wine that is given away, as wine that is bought. It is like that conſumption of wood which the poor makes in all countries by theft. When the ſpace of land occupied by vines is the queſtion, of what conſequence is it whether the wine be bought, given, or ſtolen? ——Upon the whole, I am inclined to calculate the vineyards of France at five millions of acres; in which caſe, their produce will amount to 875,000,000 liv. and the conſumption of the people will be under 2*ſ.* a-head.——The conſumption of Paris, according to the *entrées*, amounted to 36,000,000 liv. (*See M. Lavoiſier Reſultats d' un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 43.) or near 4*ſ.* per head per diem; but this, as every one well knows, was not the whole; for it ſuppoſes nothing for contraband,

which

which probably was not leſs than one-eighth, and which would make it nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$*ſ.* a head.

Woods.

There is as great difference in the calculation of the extent of woods, as of that of vines. The marquis de Mirabeau repreſents them as 30,000,000 of arpents *, in which another writer agrees †. But another allows only 6,000,000 ‡. And a third, 8,000,000 §.———Neither of the three gives any reaſons whatever for his opinions; conſequently they may be mere conjectures. There are two methods, by which ſome approximation to the truth may be gained; 1, by the maps of Caſſini; 2, by the conſumption of the people.—In examining the maps, I meaſured, as accurately as poſſible, the proportion of the ſpace covered by wood in each map; and, from many experiments on 140 of them, I found the following reſult:—but; it is neceſſary to premiſe, that I ſuppoſe each map to contain one million of arpents, or acres; not becauſe they are the real contents, but merely to be enabled from the total to calculate the proportion of the whole. The firſt of the following columns contains the number of maps, the ſecond the proportion of the ſurface covered by wood;

* *Theorie de l' Impot* p. 124.

† *Plan d' Adminiſt. des Finances*, par M. Malpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 36.

‡ *Crédit National.* p. 110.

§ M. Dellay d' Agier in the National Aſſembly.

and

and the third the number of acres of wood, ſuppoſing each map to repreſent one million of arpents of country. Example of the firſt line; there are three maps, in which half of the contents is wood; and conſequently, if thoſe maps contain each one million of arpents, there are 1,500,000 arpets of w ood.

		Arpents.			Arpents.
3	$\frac{1}{2}$	1,500,000	9	$\frac{1}{2}$	750,000
16	$\frac{1}{3}$	5,333,000	2	$\frac{1}{3}$	154,000
3	$\frac{1}{4}$	750,000	2	$\frac{1}{14}$	140,000
13	$\frac{1}{5}$	2,600,000	12	$\frac{1}{5}$	800,000
16	$\frac{1}{6}$	2,666,000	6	$\frac{1}{16}$	375,000
9	$\frac{1}{7}$	1,285,000	2	$\frac{1}{17}$	110,000
6	$\frac{1}{8}$	750,000	16	$\frac{1}{20}$	800,000
10	$\frac{1}{9}$	1,111,000	1	$\frac{1}{95}$	33,000
14	$\frac{1}{10}$	1,400,000			
90		17,395,000	140		20,557,000

Hence it appears, that the quantity of wood may (rejecting the fraction) be called one-ſeventh of the kingdom; and as there are 131,722,295 acres in it, the woods amount to 18,817,470 acres. Upon this reſult, it is to be obſerved, that none but woods of conſiderable extent are marked in the maps; or at leaſt if marked, have not an extent ſufficient to come into ſuch an eſtimation: hence this method, of aſcertaining the quantity, is confeſſedly imperfect: if the maps be tolerably accurate, we are certain that this calculation is below the truth.—The next method of inquiry is by the conſumption of the people; I took ſome notes concerning it, in different parts of the kingdom, which will aſſiſt the calculation.

Conſumption.

Quantity per ann.	Value.	Paris cords.
Liancourt the pooreſt family, -	60 liv,	
Orechamps, a little auberge, 25 loads, - - -	200	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Auxonne, ditto, one fire, -	200	$7\frac{1}{2}$
——— a poor family, -	80	3
Dijon, a poor family, $5\frac{1}{2}$ moeul at 4 cubical feet, -	71	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Dijon, 24,000 ſouls, 40,000 mouel, which is per family, of ſix ſouls 10 moeul, - -	130	$4\frac{1}{2}$*
Riom, a poor family, - -	80	3
Clermont, ditto, 10 cord, - -	60	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Tour d'Aigues, the pooreſt, family, 60 quintals, - -	60	2
Average of the poor families, - -	70	$2\frac{1}{2}$

It is here proper to examine the conſumption of Paris.

From 1731 to 1740, the quantity for which duty was paid at the gates was, on an average †, cords, 192,362

In 1748, *voyes*, 350,000 ——— In 1770, 550,000 ——— In 1778, 630,000 ‡.

I have procured the following from the bureau.

In 1784, *voyes*,	669,017	1787, *voyes*	584,602
1785,	592,311	1788,	608,403
1786,	602,314	1789,	619,900

Average of the ſix laſt laſt years, 612,091.

* Excluſive of charcoal.

† *De la Lande des Canaux de Navigation.* p. 373.

‡ *Recherches ſur la Houille d'Engrais*, par M. de Laille vault. 12mo. 1783. tom. ii. p. 21.

Charcoal.

Charcoal.

In 1784, *voyes*, each of 16 boiſeau, or 5 buſhels	
Engliſh,	790,100
1785,	783,319
1786,	767,900
1787,	795,001
1788,	749,167
1789,	687,429
Average, - -	762,152
Equal to cords of wood to form it,	38,107
Average of both wood and charcoal,	650,198

Monſ. Neckar informs us, that the inhabitants are 660,000; if we call them 66,000 families, the conſumption will be about 10 cords per family. The Dijon conſumption of wood only per family, of ten mouel, at 64 cub feet, is 640 feet, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ Paris cords. The Paris conſumption of both wood and charcoal, at 140 cub. feet is 1400 feet. The difference between theſe is not greater than, would be reaſonably expected, if we conſider the manufactures of Paris, the vaſt number of great hotels, and its being the centre of all wealth and all luxury. We are farther to ſuppoſe the 5,709,270 ſouls, inhabitants of all the towns in France (which is the reſult of the late enumeration) to be, excluſively of Paris, 1,000,000 of families, and we may allow them by the Dijon regiſter, charcoal included, five cords each. To the remainder of French population, *viz.* 4,000,000 of families, we will ſuppoſe 300,000 each at four cords; and 3,700,000 at $2\frac{1}{2}$.

Paris

		Cords,
Paris at ten cords,	-	687,121
Other towns at five,	-	5,000,000
300,000 country families,	at four,	1,200,000
3,700,000 ditto at $2\frac{1}{2}$,	-	4,250,000
		11,137,121

Which, at the average price of 30 liv. * is 334,113,630 †, or ſterling £. 14,618,493.

We are, in the next place, to enquire into the produce of the woods of the kingdom. The following are the minutes:

Places,	Yrs. growth.	Produce per ann.	Produce per Eng. Acre.
Senar,	20 —	24 liv.	£.0 16 8
Liancourt,	12 —	12 —	0 8 4
Falaiſe,	12 —	22 —	0 11 0
Normandy,	—	20 —	0 10 6
Columiers,	9 —	20 —	1 0 0
Mareuil,	20 —	15 —	0 10 6
Braban.	20 —	12 —	0 18 4
Metz.	20 —	10 —	0 15 0
Luneville,	25 —	3 —	0 8 9
Beſançon,	25 —	8 —	0 8 9
Do. near Forges,	—	12 —	0 12 9
Moulins,	15 —	$3\frac{1}{2}$ —	0 2 6
Average,	17	13	0 12 0

It is on this to be obſerved, that the ſums here noted are to be conſidered as net produce, or rent;

* This the average of the notes.

† Monſ. Lavoiſier calculates the produce of all the woods of France at 120,000,000 liv. *Réſultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 35. It ſhould probably be nearer the truth in aſſerting that the conſumption of manufactures alone amounts to this ſum, than he is in calculating *the total* at no more. The utter impoſſibility of the truth of his eſtimate, will appear by the conſumption of Paris only, being by his own account 27,500,000 liv.

and that conſequently the groſs produce is more conſiderable, as there are many expences to be deducted; theſe cannot make it leſs than 14s. an acre, or 16 liv. And in the calculations to be founded on this produce, no difference ariſes from the age at which the wood is cut: if at 20 years, it is 320 liv. per acre, that is, twenty times ſixteen: if at 100 years, it is 1600 liv. &c.

Hence 14s. an acre being the annual produce, it will give 20,883,561 acres for the total of France.—Upon this, however, ſome obſervations are neceſſary, or erroneous concluſions muſt be the conſequence.—If it is objected, that there are many families ſo poor as to be utterly unable to afford 60 or 70 liv. for fuel; I grant it readily, but immenſe numbers burn, though they buy perhaps none; they ſteal it as in England, as I was very generally informed; but this mode of acquiring it does not affect the calculation, ſince the wood is as clearly produced by the ſoil as if all was bought: I am, however, of opinion that there are many families too poor, and too badly ſituated, to be able by any means to command ſuch a conſumption. But, on the other hand, if we take into the account, as we ought to do, the vaſt iron forges which are ſo numerous in Franche Compté, the Limoſin, Loraine, and other provinces; and the very conſiderable founderies, glaſs-houſes, ſalt pans *, and other manufactures, which con-

* The ſalins of Franche Compté and Loraine make 750,000 quintals, which coſts 2 liv. per quintal in wood only; this is a conſumption to the value of 2,5000,000 liv. *Recherches & Conſid. ſur les Finances*, 8vo. 1789. tom. ii. p. 163.

ſume

ſume aſtoniſhing quantities of wood, we ſhall be inclined to think, that many ſuch deficiencies are amply counterbalanced; not forgetting the conſumption by houſe and ſhip building.

Acres, by the maps of Caſſini, 18,817,470.——By the Conſumption, 20,883,561.——Average of the two, 19,850,515.
Which, at 16 liv. per acre, is. - 317,608,240 liv.
Or ſterling, - £. 13,895,360.

The Marquis of Mirabeau does not acquaint us with the data by which he calculated the quantity at 30,000,000, but as it is probable he went upon different grounds from thoſe by which I have calculated, the two reſults may poſſibly be a confirmation of each other.

Recapitulation.--Arable lands, -		70,000,000 acres.
Vines, -		5,000,000
Woods,		19,850,000
		94,850,000
Remains for meadows, permanent paſtures, ſuch waſtes as do not produce wood; roads, rivers, ponds, &c.		36,872,711
Total,		131,722,711

A Modern author † has calculated the meadows at 15,000,000 of arpents, that is, at one-fourth of what he makes the arable land: I do not conceive, from the notes I took throughout the kingdom, that they amount to one third of that quantity. The cattle of great tracks of arable are ſupported without any meadows, upon clover,

† *Credit National.* p. 105.

lucerne,

lucerne, &c.; in the whole provinces there are none, except on the banks of rivers—and of theſe the breadth is not conſiderable. The plough moves to the water's edge of the Marne; and whenever I ſaw the Loire, the meadows were very inconſiderable, and often none at all. Chalk hills covered with wood, or gravelly plains under the plough are found on the Seine; much tillage on the Garonne; and vines and rocks on the Rhone. On the Soanne there are large tracks of meadow; but theſe are found more generally on the ſmaller than on the largeſt rivers, and, relatively to the quantity of arable land, are very inſignificant. The ſame author remarks, that the vineyards appear to every one more extenſive than meadows; conſequently theſe do not amount to 5,00,000 of acres, the ſpace covered by vines. We have found the groſs produce of the kingdom, by another mode of calculation, to be 5,240,000,000 liv. or 230,516,263l. The details now explained, give the following reſult:

	Acres.		French money.	Engliſh money.
Arable land,	70,000,000	at 40 liv.	2,800,000,000 liv.	£. 122,660,583
Vines,	5,000,000	175	875,000,000	38,225,250
Woods,	19 850,000	16	317,608,240	13,895,360
Meadow and rich paſturage,	4.000,000	100	400,000,000	17,500,000
Lucerne, &c.	5,000,000	100	500,000,000	21,875,000
Paſtures and waſtes,	27,150,000	*10	271,500,000	11,878,125
	131,000,000	40	5,164,108,240	226,234,318

Hence

* Monſ. Roland de la Platerie informed me, at Lyons, that in general waſte lands are ſold for one-third of the price

of

Hence it is clear, that the latter calculation which is made on different data from the other, is probably a moderate one. At the ſame time, it comes as near to it as can be expected, from ſuch diſtinct variations in the mode of eſtimation. Vines, meadows, and lucerne, are the only objects here that admit of little improvement; and it would be well for France, if their extent were proportioned to their merit, The product of the arable land is doubtleſs very much beneath what it might be. The product of arable in England, may be eſtimated, perhaps not remotely from truth, at 50s. an acre, or 15s. more than France; which makes, in 70 millions of acres, a difference of 52,500.000l. or, in French money, 1,200,000,000 liv.: and no one ſhould conſider this as the utmoſt term of improvement, ſince it includes all arable in England, great tracks of which are very ill cultivated. By an eſtimate, drawn up with much attention, the arable land in that kingdom, at the rent of 15s. *well managed*, yields an average produce of 3l. 14s. 7d. per acre, which is conſiderably more than double of the French produce. Twenty-ſeven millions of acres of paſtures and waſtes, one with another, at 10 liv. (more likely to be too high than too low an eſtimate), are a field for ample improvement. There are very few of theſe not ſuſceptible of culture; but if ten millions of

of woods; if the produce be proportioned; this would make that of waſte 5 or 6 liv. per acre; but in the preſent caſe all *paſtures* come into the calculation.

theſe

theſe acres were made, as they might be, to produce 40s. only an acre, the amount 20 millions ſterling, would be a vaſt reſource to the kingdom. Upon the queſtion of the value of the groſs produce of France, the French writers vary much. The marquis de Caſſaux makes it 2,000,400,000 liv. or 87,517,500l. * Another late writer † makes it 5,015,500,000 liv. or 219,428,125l. Another ‡ makes it 1,780,330,000 liv. which is 77,889,437l.—Monſ. de Tolozan makes it 1,826,000,000 liv. or 79,887,500l. §. And Monſ. Dellay d'Agier, of the National Aſſembly, 1,449,200 liv. ‖.—Theſe calculations being founded on no data that confer any authority, admit of no other merit than that of one conjecture being nearer the truth than another; but all are little more than gueſſes.—It is eaſier to calculate the produce of France than the rent of it, by reaſon of the various modes of letting or adminiſtrating land. It will, not, however, be far from the fact, to calculate the rent of the arable and lucerne at 15s. 7d. which is the average of my notes on that ſubject; the woods at 12s.; the vines at their profit of 8½ per cent. on the purchaſe 45l.; the meadow at half produce, or 50 liv. that is 2l. 3s. 9.; and the paſtures and waſtes at

* *Queſtions a examiner avant l'Aſſemblé des Etats Generaux.* p. 36. 1788.

† *Apologie ſur l'Edict de Nantes.*

‡ *La Subvention territoriale en nature, par M. Garnier de St. Julien.* 1789. 8vo. p. 24.

§ *Memoir ſur le Commerce de la France.* 4to. 1789. p. 20.

‖ *Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. ii. p. 220.

2 liv.

2 liv. which is probably not too low, as they are, in ſo many diſtricts, thrown into the bargain with the adjoining lands, in which caſe, though they are of eſſential conſequence to the tenant in the produce, yet they are of none to the landlord.

Recapitulation.

	Acres.	Rent per acre.	Total.
Arable and Lucerne,	75,000,000	at £. 0 15 7	£ 57,437,5000.
Woods,	19,850,000	0 12 0	11,91 ,000
Vines,	5,000,000	3 16 6	19,125,000
Meadows,	4,000,000	2 3 9	8,75,000
Waſtes,	27,150,000	0 1 9	2,375,625
	131,000,000	0 15 10	99,598,125

While the produce of land in England is ſo much higher than in France, the landlord's rent is lower upon the whole; this is on account of the vines, which yield near one fifth of all the rent of France. If, by net produce, we are to underſtand rent, and if it does not mean that, I know not what it can mean, the rent has been calculated by ſeveral writers. By M. de Forbonais ¶, at 800,000,000 liv.; this is 35,00,000l. which is not within two-thirds of the probable truth. Another**, at 1,794,000,000 liv. or 78,487,500l. A third makes ſo groſs a blunder as to eſtimate it at only 23,000,000l.†† A fourth ‡‡, that it is ſuppoſed to exceed 1,000,0000 liv. or 43,750,000l. Monſ.

¶ *Proſpectus ſur les Finances.* 1789. p. 11.

** *Credit National.* 1789. p. 136.

†† *Patullo's Eſſay on the cultivation of Bengal.* p. 5. Another work of this author, *Eſſay ſur l'Amelioration des Terres.* 12mo, 1758, is much quoted by French writers.

‡‡ *Reflections ſur un queſtion d'economie Pol.* par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1790. p. 24.

Calonne

de Calonne*, from many compariſons, ſtates it at 1,500,000,000 liv. or 65,620,000l. But what are we to think of the political information of the parliaments of the kingdom, which declared, that the taxes at 600 millions exceeded two-thirds, and even reached three-fourths of *l' entier revenu territorial de la France!* †——By theſe expreſſions, they ought to mean the groſs produce of the ſoil, and therefore were not near the truth by five-ſixths.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Population of France.

AS the ſubject of population is beſt treated by an inquiry into the induſtry, agriculture, diviſion of landed property, &c. I ſhall at preſent merely lay before the reader ſome facts collected with care in France, that afford uſeful data for political arithmeticians. Monſ. L'Abbé Expilly, in his *Dictionaire de la France*, makes the number 21,000,000. And the

* *Roquêt au Roi.* 8vo. 1787. p. 155.

† *Arrêtés du parlement de Grenoble* du 21 Aout 1787, *du Parlement de Toulouſe* du 27, & *du Parlement des Beſançon*, du 30.

marquis

marquis de Mirabeau ‡ mentions an enumeration of the kingdom in 1755; total 18,107,000. In Normandy 1,665,200, and in Bretagne 847,500. Monſ. de Buffon, in his *Hiſtoire Naturelle*, aſſigns for the population of the kingdom 22,672,077. Monſ. Meſſance, in his *Recherches ſur la Population*, 4to. 1766, gives the details from which he draws the concluſion, that in many towns in Auvergne the births are to the number of inhabitants as 1 to $24\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{30}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 114 inhabitants; and families, one with another, compoſed of $5\frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{20}$, or 24 families, contain 124 inhabitants. In various towns in the Lyonnois, births are to the inhabitants as 1 to $23\frac{3}{4}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 111 perſons; and families compoſed of $4\frac{3}{4}\ \frac{1}{80}$ ‖; 80 families contain 381 inhabitants. In various towns in Normandy the births to the inhabitants as 1 to $27\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{20}$; marriages per annum 1 to 114 perſons; families are compoſed of $3\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}$; 20 repreſent 76 inhabitants. In the city of Lyons families are compoſed of $5\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}$; 60 repreſent 316 inhabitants; and there are a few above 24 perſons per houſe in that city. In the city of Rouen families are compoſed of $6\ \frac{1}{30}$ perſons: and there are $6\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{7}$ perſons per houſe. At Lyons 1 in $35\frac{1}{2}$ dies annually; at Rouen 1 to $27\frac{1}{2}$. Mean life in ſome pariſhes in the generality of Lyons 25 years; ditto in the generality of

‡ *L' Ami des Hommes*. 1760. 5th edit. tom. iv. p. 184.

‖ The Committee of *mendicité* aſſerts, that each family in France conſiſts of five, as each has three children. *Cinquieme Rapport*. p. 34.

Rouen 25 years 10 months. At Paris 1 in 30 dies annually; a family consists of 8, and each house contains $24\frac{1}{2}$ persons. By comparing the number of births in every month in Paris, for forty years, he found that those in which conception flourished most were May, June, July, and August, and that the mortality for forty years were as follows:

Months.	*Deaths.*	*Months.*	*Deaths.*
March,	77,803	June,	58,272
April,	76,815	July,	57,339
May,	72,198	October,	54,897
January,	69,166	September,	54,339
February,	66,789	November,	54,079
December,	60,926	August,	52,479

It should appear from this table, that the influence of the sun is as important to human health as it is to vegetation. What pity that we have not similar tables of cities in all the different latitudes and circumstances of the globe.

At Clermont Terrand 1 in 38 dies annually.—At Carcassonne 1 in $22\frac{1}{2}$.——At Valence 1 in $24\frac{1}{2}$.——At Vitry le François 1 in $23\frac{1}{2}$.——At Elbœuf 1 in $29\frac{1}{2}$.——At Louviers 1 in $31\frac{1}{2}$.——At Honfleur 1 in 24.——At Vernon 1 in 25.——At Gisors 1 in 29.——At Pont-au-de-Mer 1 in 33.——At Neufchatel 1 in $24\frac{1}{2}$.——At Pont-l'Eveque 1 in 26.——At le Havre 1 in 35. Upon a comparison in seven principal provinces of the kingdom, population in 60 years has augmented in the proportion of 211 to 196, or a thirteenth. General deduction;——that the number of people in France in 1764 was 23,909,400. Monsf. Moheau

Moheau * gives to the beſt peopled provinces 1700 inhabitants per ſquare league; and the worſt 500; the medium 872, at which rate he makes the total 23,500,000, and an increaſe of a ninth ſince 1688. The iſle of Oleron is peopled at the rate of 2816 per league, and that of Ré 4205. He alſo calculates that 1 in 36 dies, and 1 in 26 is born every year. Monſ. Necker, in his work *de l' Adminiſtration des Finances de la France*, has the following particulars, which it is alſo neceſſary to have in our attention:——Births in the whole kingdom per annum, on an average, 1776, 77, 78, 79, and 80, were 963,207:———which, multiplied by 25¾, the proportion he fixes on, gives 24,802,580 inhabitants in France. He notices the groſs error of the *œconomiſtes*, in eſtimating the population of the kingdom at 15 or 16 millions.——A later authority, but given in whole numbers, and therefore not accurate, ſtates the population of the kingdom at 25,500,000, of which the clergy are ſuppoſed to be 80,000, the nobility 110,000, proteſtants 3,000,000, and Jews 30,000 †: The committee of impoſts aſſert, that to multiply the births in the cities of France by 30, will give their population with ſufficient truth; but for the country not ſo high ‡. The rule of 30 would make

* *Recher. ſur la Population de la France.* 8vo. 1778.

† *Bibliotheque de l' Homme publique*, par Meſſ. de Condorcet, Peyſonnel, le Chapelier. tom. iii.

‡ *Rapport du Comité d' Impoſ. ſur les Taxes*, p. 27.

the population 28,896,210, But much later than all theſe authorities, the National Aſſembly has ordered ſuch inquiries to be made into the population of the kingdom, as have produced a much greater degree of accuracy than was ever approached before: this has been done by the returns of taxes, in which all perſons, not liable to be charged, are entered in what we ſhould call the duplicates; and as the directions for making theſe liſts are poſitive and explicit, and no advantage whatever reſults to the people by concealing their numbers, but, on the contrary, in many inſtances, they are favoured in taxation, by reaſon of the number of their children, we may ſurely conclude that theſe returns are the ſafeſt guides. Here follows the detail.

Etat général de la Population du Teraume de France.

No.	*Noms des Départemens.*	*Population des villes & bourgs.*	*Pop. des villages & des Campagne.*	*Total de la population.*
1,	L'Ain, - -	42,300	251,566	293,866
2,	L'Aine, - -	86,800	305,253	392,053
3,	L'Allier, -	42,800	203,280	246,080
4,	Les Hautes Alpes,	29,500	151,833	181,333
5,	Des Baſſes Alpes,	38,060	180,606	218,666
6,	L'Ardeche, -	24,600	185,533	210,133
7,	Les Ardennes, -	62,100	113,260	175,360
8,	L'Arieges, -	31,400	139,266	170,666
9,	L'Aube, - -	40,100	157,255	197,355
10,	L'Aude, -	48,400	203,120	251,520
11,	L'Aveyron, -	46,500	250,135	296,635
12,	Les bouches du Rhône,	163,200	158,933	322,133
13,	Le Calvados, -	105,350	329,850	435,200
14,	Le Cantal, -	39,950	237,385	277,335
15,	La Charente, -	44,100	224,060	268,160
16,	La Charente Inférieure, -	89,120	279,306	368,426
17,	Le Cher, - -	47,900	228,366	276,266
18,	La Correze, -	32,750	221,692	254,442
19,	La Corſe, -	———	———	132,266
20,	La Côte d'Or, -	59,350	367,983	427,333
21,	Les Côtes du Nord,	27,500	441,166	468,666
22,	La Creuſe, -	22,800	244,293	267,093
23,	La Dordogne, -	51,900	353,433	405,333
24,	Le Doubs, -	36,500	187,500	224,000
25,	La Drome, -	29,900	194,100	224,000
26,	L'Eure, -	76,600	323,400	400,000
27,	L'Eure et Loire, -	44,350	186,050	230,400
28,	Le Finiſtere, -	63,000	417,000	480,000
29,	Du Gard, -	100,700	124,900	225,600
30,	De la Haute Garonne,	71,600	182,053	253,653
31,	Du Gers, -	54,600	214,200	268,800
32,	La Gironde, -	200,000	408,000	608,000
33,	D'Herault, -	108,700	155,833	264,533
34,	L'Illa et Villaine,	50,800	439,866	490,666
35,	L'Indre, -	50,650	219,750	270,400
36,	L'Indre et Loire,	82,500	267,366	349,866
37,	L'Iſere, -	33,700	269,873	303,573
38,	Du Jura, -	30,900	218,700	249,600
39,	Des Landes, -	36,500	209,700	246,200
40,	Loire et Cher, -	51,400	207,800	259,200
41,	La Haute Loire, -	41,100	172,233	213,333
42,	La Loire Inférieure,	108,100	399,633	507,733
	Carry, forward,	2,447,880	10,019,531	12,599,677

No.	Noms des Departments.	Population des villes & bourgs.	Pop. des villages & des Compagne	Total de la population.
	Brought forward,	2,447,880	10,0[illegible]9,531	12,599,677
43,	Du l'Oriet, -	84,600	185,266	269,866
44,	Du Lot, - -	55,100	212,900	268,000
45,	Du Lot & Garonne,	39,200	262,666	308,666
46,	La Lozerre, -	19,400	176,226	195,625
47,	De Maine & Loire,	94,000	200,666	294,666
48,	La Manche, -	88,100	242,566	330,666
49,	La Marne, -	76,200	206,466	282,666
50,	La Haute Marne, -	36,100	177,293	213,393
51,	La Mayenne, -	73,600	248,533	322,133
52,	La Meurte, -	65,900	314,366	380,266
53,	La Meuse, -	58,100	194,166	252,266
54,	Le Morbihan, -	42,400	448,266	490,666
55,	La Mozelle, -	67,000	223,133	290,133
56,	La Nyevre, -	34,500	218,100	252,600
57,	Le Nord, -	168,800	399,733	568,533
58,	L'Oise, -	53,900	266,100	320,000
59,	L'Orne, -	57,800	328,333	386,133
60,	Du Paris, -	556,800	168,533	725,333
61,	Le Pas de Calais,	79,600	507,066	586,666
62,	Le Puy de Dome,	82,550	322,783	405,333
63,	Les Hautes Pyrennées,	35,000	122,866	157,866
64,	Les Basses Pyrenuées,	55,490	131,465	286,955
65,	Des Pyrenuées Orientales, - -	31,100	131,033	162,133
66,	Le Haut Rhin, -	29,500	276,633	306,133
67,	Le Bas Rhin, -	90,500	272,366	362,666
68,	Le Rhone & Loire,	215,400	460,440	675,840
69,	La Haute Saone, -	18,700	231,966	250,666
70,	Saone & Loire, -	60,100	342,033	402,133
71,	La Sarte, - -	66,500	296,166	362,666
72,	Seine & Oise, -	105,900	214,100	320,000
73,	Le Seine Inferieure,	184,550	261,316	445,866
74,	La Seine & Marne,	52,300	293,300	345,600
75,	Des deux Sevres,	56,300	157,033	213,333
76,	La Somme, -	91,600	294,533	386,133
77,	Le Tarn, -	51,900	171,500	230,400
78,	Le Var, - -	49,900	213,566	263,466
79,	La Vendee, -	34,900	191,233	226,133
80,	La Vienne, - -	48,700	232,900	281,600
81,	La Haute Vienne,	41,300	140,033	181,333
82,	Les Vosges, -	28,200	291,800	320,000
83,	L'Yonne, -	72,900	366,566	439,466
	Total, -	5,[illegible]09,270	20,521,538	26,363,074

Eſtimating the acres at 131,722,295, and the people as here detailed, we find that it makes, within a ſmall fraction, five acres a head. That proportion would be 131,815,270 acres. If England were equally well peopled, there ſhould be upon 46,915,933 acres rather more than 9,000,000 ſouls. And for our two iſlands, to equal France in this reſpect, there ſhould be in them 19,867,117 ſouls; inſtead of which there are not more than 15,000,000.

An obſervation, rather curious, may be made on this detail; it appears, that leſs than one-fourth of the people inhabit towns; a very remarkable circumſtance, becauſe it is commonly obſerved, and doubtleſs founded on certain facts, that in flouriſhing countries the half of a nation is found in towns. Many writers, I believe, have looked upon this as the proportion in England: in Holland, and in Lombardy, the richeſt countries in Europe, the ſame probably obtains. I am much inclined to connect this ſingular fact, relating to France, with that want of effect and ſucceſs in its agriculture, which I have remarked in almoſt every part of the kingdom; reſulting alſo from the extreme diviſion of the ſoil into little properties. It appears likewiſe, from this detail, that their towns are not conſiderable enough to give that animation and vigour to the induſtry of the country, which is beſt incouraged by the activity of the demand which cities afford for the products of agriculture. A more certain and unequivocal proof of the juſtice of my remarks, on the

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too great and miſchievous diviſion of landed property and farms in that kingdom could hardly have ariſen: and it yields the cleareſt conviction, that the progreſs of national improvement has been upon the whole but ſmall in France. The manufactures and commerce of the kingdom muſt have made a leſs advance than one would have conceived poſſible, not to have effected a proportion far different from this of a fifth. A really active induſtry, proportioned to the natural reſources of the kingdom, ſhould long ago have *purged the country* (to uſe an expreſſion of Sir James Stuart's,) of thoſe ſuperfluous mouths,—I do not ſay hands; for they eat more than they work; and it is their want of employment that ought to drive them into towns.—Another obſervation is ſuggeſted by this curious table of population: I have repeatedly, in the diary of my journey, remarked, that the near approach to Paris is a deſert compared with that to London; that the difference is infinitely greater than the difference of their population; and that the want of traffic, on the high roads, is found every where in the kingdom as well as at Paris. Now it deſerves notice, that the great reſort, which is every where obſervable on the high ways of England, flows from the number, ſize, and wealth of our towns, much more than from any other circumſtance. It is not the country, but towns, that give the rapid circulation from one part of a kingdom to the other; and though, at firſt ſight, France may be thought to have the advantage in this reſpect,

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yet a nearer view of the ſubject will allow of no ſuch concluſion. In the following liſt, the Engliſh column has ſurely the advantage:

Engliſh.	French.
London,	Paris,
Dublin,	Lyons,
Edinburgh,	Bourdeaux,
Liverpool,	Marſeilles,
Briſtol,	Nantes,
Newcaſtle	Havre,
Hull,	Rochelle,
Manchester,	Rouen,
Birmingham,	Lille,
Norwich,	Niſmes,
Cork,	St. Malo,
Glaſgow,	Bayonne,
Bath.	Verſailles.

The vaſt ſuperiority of London and Dublin to Paris and Lyons, renders the whole compariſon ridiculous. I believe London, without exaggeration, to be alone equal to Paris, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marſeilles, as appears by the liſts of population, and by the wealth and trade of all. But if we reflect, that the towns of England, &c. are portions of a population of 15 millions, only, and thoſe of France parts of 26 millions, the compariſon ſhews at once the vaſtly greater activity there muſt be in one country than in the other.*

* What can be thought of thoſe marvellous politicians, the nobility of Dourdon, who call for entrees at the gates of the cities, not as a good mode of taxation, but to reſtrain the too great populouſneſs of cities, "which never takes place but by the depopulation of the country." *Cahier*, p. 20. The count de Mirabeau, in his *Monarchie Pruſſienne*, recurs often to

Of all the ſubjects of political œconomy, I know not one that has given riſe to ſuch a cloud of errors as this of population. It ſeems, for ſome centuries, to have been conſidered as the only ſure teſt of national proſperity. The politicians of thoſe times, and the majority of them in the preſent, have been of opinion, that, to enumerate the people, was the only ſtep neceſſary to be taken, in order to aſcertain the degree in which a country was flouriſhing. Two-and-twenty years ago, in my *Tour through the North of England*, 1769, I entered my caveat againſt ſuch a doctrine, and preſumed to aſſert, *that no nation is rich or powerful by means of mere numbers of people; it is the induſtrious alone that conſtitutes a kingdom's ſtrength*; that aſſertion I repeated in my *Political Arithmetic* 1774; and in the ſecond part, 1779, under other combinations. About the ſame time a genius of a ſuperior caſt (Sir James Stuart), very much exceeded my weak efforts, and, with a maſterly hand, explained the principles of population. Long ſince that period, other writers have ariſen who have viewed the ſubject in its right light; and of theſe none have equalled Monſ. Herenſchwandt, who, in his *Economie Politique Moderne*, 1786; and his *Diſcours ſur la Diviſion des Terres* †, 1788, has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject. I ſhall not, how-

to the ſame idea.———He was groſsly erroneous, when he ſtated the ſubjects of the King of France as thrice more numerous than thoſe of England, if he meant by England, as we are to ſuppoſe, Scotland and Ireland alſo. tom. i. p. 402.

† See particularly p. 48, 51, &c.

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ever, omit to name the report of the committee of *mendicité* in the National Aſſembly. The following paſſage does the higheſt honour to their political diſcernment :—" C' eſt ainſi que malgré les aſſertions, ſans ceſſe répetées depuis vingtans, de tous les écrivains politiques qui placent la proſperité d' un empire dans ſa plus grande population, une population excéſſive ſans un grand travail & ſans des productions abondantes, ſeroit au contraire une dévorante ſurcharghe pour un etat ; car, il, faudroit alors que cette exceſſive population partageat les benefices de celle qui, ſans elle, eût trouvé une ſubſiſtence ſuffiſante ; il faudroit que la même ſomme de travail fut abandonnée à une plus grande quantité de bras ; il faudroit enfin néceſſairement que le prix de ce travail baiſſat par la plus grande concurrence des travailleurs, d'on reſulteroit une indigence complette pour ceux qui ne trouveroient pas de travail, & une ſubſiſtance incomplette pour ceux-mêmes aux quels il ne ſeroit pas refuſé *." —France itſelf affords an irrefragable proof of the truth of theſe ſentiments ; for I am clearly of opinion, from the obſervations I made in every province of the kingdom, that her population is ſo much beyond the proportion of her induſtry and labour, that ſhe would be much more powerful, and infinitely more flouriſhing, if ſhe had five or ſix millions leſs of inhabitants. From her too great population, ſhe preſents, in every quarter, ſuch

* *Plan de Travail du Comité pour l' extinction de la Mendicité preſenté par M. de Liancourt.* 8vo. 1790. p. 6.

ſpectacles of wretchedneſs, as are abſolutely inconſiſtent with that degree of national felicity, which ſhe was capable of attaining even under her old government. A traveller, much leſs attentive than I was to objects of this kind, muſt ſee at every turn moſt unequivocal ſigns of diſtreſs. That theſe ſhould exiſt, no one can wonder who conſiders the price of labour, and of proviſions, and the miſery into which a ſmall riſe in the price of wheat throws the lower claſſes; a miſery, that is ſure to increaſe itſelf by the alarm it excites, leſt ſubſiſtence ſhould be wanted. The cauſes of this great population were certainly not to be found in the benignity of the old government yielding a due protection to the lower claſſes, for, on the contrary, it abandoned them to the mercy of the privileged orders. It is fair, however, to obſerve, that there was nothing in the principles of the old government, ſo directly inimical to population, as to prevent its increaſe. Many croaking writers in France have repeatedly announced the depopulation of that kingdom, with pretty much the ſame truth and ingenuity that have been exerciſed on the ſame ſubject in England. Monſ. Necker, in a very ſenſible paſſage, gives a deciſive anſwer to them, which is at the ſame time thoroughly applicable to the ſtate of England, as well as to that of France *. Nor can the great population of France be attributed to the climate, for the tables of births and burials offer nothing more favourable in that kingdom, than in our own, And

* De l'Adminiſt. des Finances. *Oeuvres.* 4to. Londres. p. 320.

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a much worſe climate in Holland and Flanders, and in ſome parts of Germany and Italy, is attended with a ſtill greater populouſneſs ‡. Nor is it to be imputed to an extraordinary proſperity of manufactures, for our own are much more conſiderable, in proportion to the number of people in the two countries.

This great populouſneſs of France, I attribute very much to the diviſion of the lands into ſmall properties, which takes place in that country to a degree of which we have in England but little conception. Whatever promiſes the appearance even of ſubſiſtence, induces men to marry. The inheritance of ten or twelve acres to be divided amongſt the children of the proprietor, will be looked to with the views of a permanent ſettlement, and either occaſions a marriage, the infants of which die young for want of ſufficient nouriſhment *; or keeps children at home, diſtreſſing their relations, long after the time that they ſhould have emigrated to towns. In diſtricts that contain immenſe quantities of waſte land of a certain degree of fertility, as in the roots of the Pyrenees, belonging to communities ready to ſell

‡ A very ingenious Italian writer ſtates the people of France at 1290 ſouls per league; and in Italy at 1335. *Fabbroni Reflexions ſur l'Agric.* p. 243.

* Monſ. Necker, in the ſame ſection as that quoted above, remarks this to be the caſe in France; and juſtly obſerves, that the population of ſuch a country being compoſed of too great a proportion of infants, a million of people implies neither the force nor labour of a million in countries otherwiſe conſtituted.

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them, œconomy and induſtry, animated with the views of ſettling and marrying, flouriſh greatly: in ſuch neighbourhoods ſomething like an American increaſe take place; and, if the land be cheap, little diſtreſs is found. But as procreation goes on rapidly, under ſuch circumſtances, the leaſt check to ſubſiſtence is attended with great miſery; as waſtes becoming dearer, or the beſt portions being ſold, or difficulties ariſing in the acquiſition; all which caſes I met with in thoſe mountains. The moment any impediment happens, the diſtreſs of ſuch people will be proportioned to the activity and vigour which had animated population. It is obvious, that in the caſes here referred to, no diſtreſs occurs, if the manufactures and commerce of the diſtrict are ſo flouriſhing as to demand all this ſuperfluity of rural population as faſt as it ariſes; for that is preciſely the balance of employments which prevails in a well regulated ſociety; the country breeding people to ſupply the demand and conſumption of towns and manufactures. Population will, in every ſtate, increaſe perhaps too faſt for this demand. England is in this reſpect, from the unrivalled proſperity of her manufactures, in a better ſituation than any other country in Europe; but even in England population is ſometimes too active, as we ſee clearly by the dangerous increaſe of poor's rates in country villages; and her manufactures being employed very much for ſupplying foreign conſumption, they are often expoſed to *bad times*; to a ſlack demand, which turns thouſands out of

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employment, and ſends them to their pariſhes for ſupport. Since the concluſion of the American war, however, nothing of this kind has happened; and the ſeven years which have elapſed ſince that period, may be named as the moſt deciſively proſperous which England ever knew. It has been ſaid to me in France, Would you leave uncultivated lands waſtes, rather than let them be cultivated in ſmall portions, through a fear of population?—I certainly would not: I would, on the contrary, encourage their culture; but I would prohibit the diviſion of ſmall farms, which is as miſchievous to cultivation, as it is ſure to be diſtreſſing to the people. The indiſcriminate praiſe of a great ſub-diviſion, which has found its way unhappily into the National Aſſembly, muſt have ariſen from a want of examination into facts: go to diſtricts where the properties are minutely divided, and you will find (at leaſt I have done it univerſally), great diſtreſs, and even miſery, and probably very bad agriculture. Go to others, where ſuch ſub-diviſion has not taken place, and you will find a better cultivation, and infinitely leſs miſery; and if you would ſee a diſtrict, with as little diſtreſs in it as is conſiſtent with the political ſyſtem of the old government of France, you muſt aſſuredly go where there are no little properties at all. You muſt viſit the great farms in Beauce, Picardy, part of Normandy, and Artois, and there you will find no more population than what is regularly employed

ployed and regularly paid; and if in ſuch diſtricts you ſhould, contrary to this rule, meet with much diſtreſs, it is twenty to one but that it is in a pariſh which has ſome commons that tempt the poor to have cattle—to have property—and, in conſequence, miſery. When you are engaged in this political tour, finiſh it by ſeeing England, and I will ſhew you a ſet of peaſants well cloathed, well nouriſhed, tolerably drunken from ſuperfluity, well lodged, and at their eaſe; and yet amongſt them, not one in a thouſand has either land or cattle. When you have viewed all this, go back to your tribune, and preach, if you pleaſe, in favour of a minute diviſion of landed property. There are two other groſs errors, in relation to this ſubject, that ſhould be mentioned; theſe are, the encouragements that are ſometimes given to marriage, and the idea of the importance of attracting foreigners. Neither of theſe is at all admiſſible on juſt principles in ſuch a country as France. The predominant evil of the kingdom, is the having ſo great a population, that ſhe can neither employ, nor feed it: why then encourage marriage? would you breed more people, becauſe you have more already than you know what to do with? You have ſo great a competition for food, that your people are ſtarving or in miſery; and you would encourage the production of more to increaſe that competition. It may almoſt be queſtioned, whether the contrary policy ought not to be embraced? whether difficulties ſhould not be laid on the marriage of thoſe who cannot make

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it appear that they have a proſpect of maintaining the children that ſhall be the fruit of it? But why encourage marriages which are ſure to take place in all ſituations in which they ought to take place? —There is no inſtance to be found of plenty of regular employment being firſt eſtabliſhed, where marriages have not followed in a proportionate degree. The policy, therefore at beſt, is uſeleſs, and may be pernicious. Nor is the attraction of foreigners deſirable in ſuch a kingdom as France. It does not ſeem reaſonable to have a peaſantry half-ſtarved for want of employment, ariſing from a too great populouſneſs; and yet, at the ſame time, to import foreigners, to increaſe the competition for employment and bread, which are inſufficient for the preſent population of the kingdom. This muſt be the effect, if the new comers be induſtrious; if they belong to the higher claſſes, their emigration from home muſt be very inſignificant, and by no means an object of true policy; they muſt leave their own country, not in conſequence of encouragement given in another, but from ſome ſtrokes of ill policy at home. Such inſtances are indeed out of the common courſe of events, like the perſecutions of a duke d'Alva, or the revocation of the edict of Nantes. It is the duty of every country, to open its arms, through mere humanity, to receive ſuch fugitives; and the advantages derived from receiving them may be very conſiderable, as was the caſe with England. But this is not the kind of emigrations to which I would allude, but rather to the

eſtabliſhment of ſuch colonies as the King of Spain's, in the Sierra Morena. German beggars were imported, at an immenſe expence, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary to eſtabliſh little farms in thoſe deſerts; whilſt at the ſame time, every town in Spain ſwarmed with multitudes of idle and poor vagrants, who owed their ſupport to biſhops and convents. Suppreſs gradually this blind and indiſcriminate charity, the parent of infinite abuſe and miſery, and at the ſame time give ſimilar employments to your own poor; by means of this policy, you will want no foreigners; and you may ſettle ten Spaniſh families for the expence of one German. It is very common to hear of the want of population in Spain, and ſome other countries; but ſuch ideas are uſually the reſult of ignorance, ſince all ill governed countries are commonly too populous. Spain, from the happineſs of its climate, is greatly ſo, notwithſtanding the apparent ſcarcity of inhabitants; for, as it has been ſhewn above, that country which has more people than it can maintain by induſtry, who muſt either ſtarve, or remain a dead weight on the charity of others, is manifeſtly too populous*; and Spain is perhaps

* An Italian author, with whom I had the pleaſure of converſing at Turin, juſtly obſerves, "Quanto la popolazione proporzionata ai prodotti della natura e dell' arte è vantaggioſa ad una nazione altrettanto è nociva una popozione ſoverchia." *L'Abbate la Vasco, Riſpoſta al queſito propoſto dalla Reale Accad. delle Scienze*, &c. 8vo. 1788. p. 85.

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the beſt peopled country in Europe, in proportion to its induſtry. When the great evil is having more people than there is wiſdom, in the political inſtitutes of a country to govern, the remedy is not by attracting foreigners——*it lies much nearer home.*

CONSUMPTION.

Twenty Years Conſumption at Paris, of Oxen, Calves, Sheep, and Hogs, as entered in the Books of the Entrées.

Years.	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Hogs.
1767,	68,763	106,579	358,577	37,899
68,	69,985	112,949	344,320	32,299
69,	66,586	111,608	333,916	36,186
70,	66,818	110,578	335,013	36,712
71,	65,360	107,598	314,124	30,753
72,	63,390	101,791	295,946	28,610
73,	65,324	99,749	309,137	29,391
74,	68,025	103,247	309,573	30,032
75,	68,106	109,235	309,662	32,722
76,	71,208	102,291	328,505	37,740
77,	71,755	104,600	343,300	35,823
78,	73,606	107,292	328,868	30,204
79,	73,468	99,952	324,028	38,211
80,	71,488	104,825	308,043	41,419
81,	70,484	99,533	317,681	41,205
82,	72,107	100,706	316,563	44,772
83,	71,042	98,478	321,627	39,177
84,	72,984	100,112	327,034	39,621
85,	73,846	94,727	332,628	28,697
86,	73,088	89,575	328,699	39,572

Average.—— Oxen, 69,883. Calves, 103271. Sheep, 323,762. Hogs, 36,332.

Theſe are the quantities for which duties are paid; but it is calculated by the officers of the cuſtoms

that what enters contraband, and for which nothing is paid, amounts to one-ſixth of the whole.*

The conſumption of flour is 1500 ſacks per diem, each weighing 320lb. requiring nine ſeptiers of corn to yield four of thoſe ſacks, or 3375 ſeptiers per diem. This is per annum, 1,231,875 ſeptiers; the French political arithmeticians agree in calculating the conſumption of their people per head, at three ſeptiers for the whole kingdom on an average: but this will not lead us to the population of the capital, as the immenſe conſumption of meat in it muſt evidently reduce conſiderably that proportion. It may probably be eſtimated at two ſeptiers, which will make the population 615,937 ſouls. Monſ. Necker's account of the population was 660,000. The enumeration in 1790 made the numbers no more than 550,800; and there are abundant reaſons for believing the aſſertion, that this capital was diminiſhed by the revolution in that proportion at leaſt. This point is, however, aſcertained by the conſumption, which is now 1350 ſacks a day, or reduced one-

* To ſome it may appear ſtrange, how ſuch a commodity, as live oxen, can be ſmuggled in great quantities; but the means of doing it are numerous; one was diſcovered, and many more of the ſame ſort are ſuppoſed to exiſt undiſcovered: a ſubterraneous paſſage was pierced under the wall going from a court yard without the wall, to a butcher's yard within; and whole droves of oxen, &c. entered by it in the night for a long time, before it was known. The officers of the barriers are convinced, that, on an average of commodities, one-ſixth is ſmuggled.

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tenth, which, at two ſeptiers of corn, implies a population of 554,344; and as this comes within 2000 of the actual enumeration, it proves that two ſeptiers a head is an accurate eſtimate; and though it does not perfectly agree with Monſ. Necker's account of the former population of Paris, yet it is much nearer to it than the calculations made to correct that account, by Dr. Price, and by the very able and ingenious political arithmetician, Mr. Howlet. As the late enumeration ſhews the population of Paris to have been (proportionably to the conſumption of corn) 615,937 ſouls, when its births amounted to 20,550, this fact confirms the general calculation in France, that the births in a great city are to be multiplied by 30; for the above-mentioned number, ſo multiplied, gives 616,500, which comes ſo near the truth, that the difference is not worth correcting. M. Necker's multiplier is confirmed clearly; and the event, which gives to France a population of 26,000,000, has proved, that Dr. Price, who calculated them at above 30,000,000, was as groſsly miſtaken in his exaggeration of French populouſneſs, as Mr. Howlet has ſhewn him to be in his dimunition of that of England. It ſeems indeed to have been the fate of that calculator to have been equally refuted upon almoſt every political ſubject he handled; the miſchief of incloſures—the depopulation of England—the populouſneſs of France—and the denunciation of ruin he pronounced ſo authoritatively againſt a variety of annuitant ſocieties, that have flouriſhed almoſt in proportion to

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the diſtreſſes he aſſigned them. The conſumption of wine at Paris, on an average of the laſt twenty years, has been from 230,000 to 260,000 muids per annum; average, 245,000. In 1789 it ſunk rather more than 50,000 muids, by ſmuggling, during the confuſions of that period. In 245,000 muids there are 70,560,000 Paris pints, or Engliſh quarts, which makes the daily conſumption 193,315 quarts; and if to this, according to the computation of the *commis*, of the barriers, one-ſixth is to be added for ſmuggling, it makes 225,534, which is one-third of a quart, and one tenth of that third per head per diem. The conſumption of meat is very difficult to be calculated, becauſe the weight of the beaſts is not noted; I can gueſs at it only, and therefore the reader will pay no other attention to what follows than to a mere conjecture. I viewed many hundreds of the oxen, at different times, and eſtimate the average of thoſe I ſaw at ſixty ſtone; but as there are doubtleſs many other ſmaller, let us calculate at 50 or 700 lb. and let us drop ſmuggling in theſe caſes, ſince though it may, on the whole, be one-ſixth yet it cannot be any thing like that in theſe commodities; the calves at 120lb. the ſheep at 60lb. and the hogs at 100lb.

Oxen,

Oxen,	69,883,	at	700 lb.	48,918,100 lb.
Calves,	103,271,	at	120	12,392,520
Sheep,	323,762,	at	60	19,425,720
Hogs,	36,332,	at	100	3,633,200
Total*,				84,369,540

This quantity divided amongſt a population of 615,937, gives to each perſon 136lb. of meat for his annual conſumption, or above one-third of a pound per diem. During the ſame twenty years, the conſumption of London was, on an average, per annum, 92,539 oxen, and 649,369 ſheep‡. Theſe oxen probably weighed 840lb. each, and the ſheep 100 lb; which two articles only, without calves or hogs, make 142,669,660; yet theſe quantities do not nearly contain the whole number brought to London, which, for want of ſuch taxes as at Paris, can be diſcovered with no certainty. The conſumption of Breſt is regiſtered for the year 1778, when 22,000 people, in 1900 houſes, conſumed 82,000 boiſeau, each 150 lb. of corn of all ſorts; 16,000 bariques of wine and brandy, and 1000 of Cyder and beer †. This conſumption amounted to per head—corn $2\frac{1}{3}$ ſeptiers, of 240 lb. per annum;—wine, brandy, beer,

* Long ſince this was written, I received Monſ. Lavoiſier's *Reſultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, in which he gives a table of the Paris conſumption; but I do not know on what authority, for the weight per head he makes the total of all meats 82,300,000 lb.

‡. *Report of the Com. of the Court of Common Council.* 1786. Folio. p. 75.

† *Encyclop. Methodique Marine*, t. i. part 1. p. 158.

and

and cyder, one-third of a quart per head per diem. Nancy, in 1733, when it contained 19,645 ſouls, conſumed,

Oxen, 3402.—Calves, 9073.—Sheep, 11,863.—Total, 23,338.

It conſumed, therefore, more than one of theſe pieces per head of its population. In 1738, when it contained 19,831 ſouls, it conſumed,

Oxen, 2309.—Calves, 5038—Sheep, 9549.—Total, 16,896‡.

Above three-fourths each. The conſumption of Paris is three-fourths of one of theſe beaſts per head of population. As the fineſt cattle in the kingdom are ſent to the capital, the proportions in number ought to be leſs; but the wealth of that capital would have juſtified the ſuppoſition of a ſtill greater comparative conſumption.

‡ *Deſcrip. de la Lorraine*, par M. Durival. 3 tom. 4to. 1778. t. ii. p. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Police of Corn in France.

OF all ſubjects, there is none comparable to the police of corn, for diſplaying the folly to which men can arrive, who do not betray a want of common ſenſe in reaſoning on other topics. One tells us (I confine myſelf chiefly to French authorities, engaged as I am at preſent in reſearches in that kingdom), that the price is in exact proportion to the quantity of corn, and to the quantity of money at the ſame time in the kingdom ‡; and that when wheat ſells at 36 liv. the ſeptier, it is a proof there is not half enough to laſt till harveſt §.—He propoſes to have magazines in every market, and to prohibit, under ſevere penalties, a higher price than 24 liv. This would be the infallible method to have it very ſoon at 50, and perhaps at 100 liv. That the price of corn does not depend on the quantity of money, is proved by the ſudden riſe proceeding from alarms, of which this author might have known an inſtance in the year he printed; for Monſ. Necker's memoir to the National Aſſembly was no ſooner diſ-

‡ *Conſid. ſur la Charté des Grains, par M. Vaudrey.* 1789. 8vo, p. 5.

§ Ib. p. 7, 8, 19.

perſed, than the price roſe in one week 30 per cent.; yet the quantity in the kingdom, both of money and corn, remained juſt as before that memoir was publiſhed. But it has already been ſufficeintly proved, that a very ſmall deficiency of the crop will make an enormous difference in the price. I may add, that the mere apprehenſion of a deficieney, whether ill or well founded, will have the ſame effect. From this circumſtance, I draw a concluſion of no trifling import to all governments; and that is, never to expreſs publicly any apprehenſion of a want of corn; and the only method by which governments can expreſs their fears, is by proclamations againſt export; prohibitions; ordonances of regulation of ſale; arrets, or laws againſt monopolizers; or vain and frivolous boaſts, like thoſe of Monſ. Necker, of making great imports from abroad—all theſe meaſures have the ſame tendency; they confirm amongſt the people the apprehenſion of want; for when it is found, amongſt the loweſt orders, that government is alarmed as well as they themſelves, their own fears augment; they riſe in a rage againſt monopolizers, or ſpeculators, as they ought rather to be called, and then every ſtep they take has the never-failing effect of increaſing the evil; the price riſes ſtill higher, as it muſt do inevitably, when ſuch furious obſtructions are thrown on the interior trade in corn, as to make it a matter of great and ſerious danger to have any thing to do with it. In ſuch a ſituation of madneſs and folly in the people, the plenty of one diſtrict

diſtrict cannot ſupply the want of another, without ſuch a monſtrous premium, as ſhall not only pay the expence of tranſport. but inſure the corn, when lodged in granaries, againſt the blind and violent ſuſpicions of the people. To raiſe this ſpirit, nothing more is neceſſary than for government to iſſue any decree whatever that diſcovers an alarm; the people immediately are apprehenſive of famine; and this can never take place without creating it in a great meaſure. It is therefore the duty of a wiſe and enlightened government, if at any time they ſhould fear a ſhort proviſion of corn, to take the moſt private and cautious meaſures poſſible, either to prevent export, or to encourage import, and to avoid making any public decree or declaration. The hiſtory of corn, in France, during the year 1789, was a moſt extraordinary proof of the juſtneſs of theſe principles. Wherever I paſſed, and it was through many provinces, I made inquiries into the cauſes of the ſcarcity; and was every where aſſured, that the dearneſs was the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in the world; for, though the crop had not been great, yet it was about an average one; and conſequently, that the deficiency muſt certainly have been occaſioned by exportation, I demanded, if they were ſure that an exportation had taken place? —They replied, no; but that it might have been done privately; this anſwer ſufficiently ſhewed, that theſe exports were purely ideal. The dearneſs, however, prevailed to ſuch a degree, in May and June particularly (not without being fomented by

men who ſought to blow the diſcontents of the people into abſolute outrage), that Monſ. Necker thought it right not only to order immenſe cargoes of wheat, and every other ſort of corn, to be bought all over Europe, but likewiſe, in June, to announce to the public, with great parade, the ſteps that he had taken, in a paper called *Mémoire inſtructif*, in which he ſtated, that he had bought, and ordered to be bought, 1,404,463 quintaux of different ſorts of grain, of which more than 800,000 were arrived. I was a perſonal witneſs, in many markets, of the effect of this publication; inſtead of ſinking the price, it raiſed it directly, and enormouſly. Upon one market-day, at Nangis, from 38 liv. to 43 liv. the ſeptier of 240 lb.; and upon the following one to 49 liv. which was July 1ſt; and on the next day, at Columiers, it was taxed by the police at 4 liv. 5ſ. and 4 liv. 6ſ. the 25 lb.; but as the farmers would not bring it to market at that price, they ſold it at their farms at 5½ liv. and even 6 liv. or 57 liv. the ſeptier. At Nangis it advanced, in 14 days, 11 liv. a ſeptier; and at Columiers a great deal more. Now, it is to be obſerved, that theſe markets are in the vicinity of the capital, for which Monſ. Necker's great foreign proviſion was chiefly deſigned; and conſequently, if his meaſures would have any where a good effect, it might have been expected here; but ſince the contrary happened, and the price, in two markets, was raiſed 25 per cent. we may reaſonably conclude, that it did good no where; yet, as appeared to the *Comptes Rendus*,

Rendus, this fine meaſure coſt 40 millions of livres. But to what was this apparent ſcarcity imputable?' Abſolutely to Monſ. Necker's having ſaid, in his memoir, " *à mon arivée dans le miniſtere je me hâtai de prendre des informations ſur le produit de la récolte & ſur les beſoins des pays étrangers**. It was from theſe unſeaſonable inquiries, in September

* He has introduced a tiſſue of the ſame ſtuff in his *Memoir ſur L'Adminiſtration de M. Necker par lui même*, p. 367, where he ſays, with the true ignorance of the prohibitory ſyſtem, " Mon ſyſtême ſur l'exportation des grains eſt infiniment ſimple, ainſi que j'ai eu ſouvent l'occaſion, de le developper; il ſe borne à n'en avoir aucun d'mmuable, mais à defendre ou permette cette exportation ſelon le temps & ſelon les circonſtances." When a man ſtarts upon a rotten foundation, he is ſure to flounder in this manner; the ſimplicity of a ſyſtem to be new-moulded every moment, " ſelon le temps & ſelon les circonſtances!" And who is to judge of theſe ſeaſons and circumſtances? A miniſter? A government? Theſe, it ſeems, are to promulgate laws, in conſequence of their having *made inquiries into the ſtate of crops and ſtocks on hand*, What preſumption; what an exceſs of vanity muſt it be, which impels a man to ſuppoſe, that the truth is within the verge of ſuch inquiries; or, that he is one line, one point nearer to it, after he has made them than before he began. Go to the Intendant in France, or to the Lord Lieutenant in England, and ſuppoſe him to receive a letter from government directing ſuch inquiries;—purſue the intelligence,—follow him to his table for converſation on crops,—or in his rides among the farmers (an idea that may obtain in England, but never was ſuch a ride taken by an Intendant in France) in order to make inquiries; mark the deſultory, broken, and falſe ſpecimens of the intelligence he receives,

tember 1788, that all the miſchief was derived. They pervaded the whole kingdom, and ſpread

receives, and then recur to the *ſimplicity* of the ſyſtem that is to be founded on ſuch inquiries. Monſ. Necker writes as if we are ignorant of the ſources of his information. He ought to have known, that miniſters can never procure it; and that they cannot be ſo good an authority for a whole kingdom, as a country gentleman, ſkilled in agriculture, is for his own pariſh; yet what gentleman would preſume to pronounce upon a crop to the 360th part of its amount, or even to the 20th? But it muſt be obſerved, that all Monſ. Necker's *ſimple* operations, which cauſed an unlimited import, at an unlimited expence, affected not the 200th part of a year's conſumption by the people, whoſe welfare he took upon him to ſuperintend. If this plain fact—the undoubted ignorance of every man what the crop is, or has been, in ſuch fractions as $\frac{1}{250}$, $\frac{1}{300}$, $\frac{1}{250}$, and much more $\frac{1}{2000}$, be well conſidered, it will ſurely follow, that an abſolute and unbounded liberty in the corn trade is infinitely more likely to have effect, than ſuch paltry, deceitful, and falſe inquiries as this miniſter, with his ſyſtem of complex *ſimplicity*, was forced, according to his own account, to rely upon. Let the reader purſue the paſſage, p. 369, the *prévoyance* of government—*application*—*hâter le mouvement du commerce*—*attrait prochain*—*calculs*. A pretty ſupport for a great nation! Their ſubſiſtence is to depend on the combination of a viſionary declaimer, rather than on the induſtry and energy of THEIR OWN exertions. Monſ. Necker's performance deſerves an attentive peruſal, eſpecially when he paints ſo pathetically the anxieties he ſuffered on account of the want of corn. I wiſh that thoſe who read it would only carry in their minds this undoubted fact, that the ſcarcity which occaſioned theſe inquietudes was abſolutely and ſolely of his own creating; and that if he had not been miniſter in France, and that government had taken no ſtep whatever in this affair, there would not have been ſuch a word as ſcarcity heard in the kingdom. He converted, by

his

ſpread an univerſal alarm; the price in conſequence aroſe; and when once it ariſes in France, miſchief immediately follows, becauſe the populace, render the internal trade inſecure and dangerous. The buſineſs of the miniſter was done in a moment; his conſummate vanity, which, from having been confined to his character as an author, now became the ſcourge of the kingdom, prohibited the export for no other reaſon, than becauſe the archbiſhop of Sens had the year before allowed it, in contradiction to that maſs of errors and prejudices which M. Necker's book upon the corn trade had diſſeminated. It is curious to ſee him, in his *Memoire inſtructif*, aſſerting, that France, in 1787, *etoit livrée au commerce des grains dans tout le royaume, avec plus d' activité, que jamais & l'on avoit envoyé dans l' étranger une quantité conſiderable de grains.* Now, to ſee the invidious manner in which this is put, let us turn to the regiſter of the *Bureau General de la balance du Commerce*, where we ſhall find the following ſtatement of the corn-trade for 1787:

Imports.		*Exports.*	
Wheat, -	8,116,000 liv.	Corn, -	3,165,600 liv.
Rice, -	2,040,000	Wheat, -	6,559,900
Barley, -	375,000	Legumes, -	949,200
Legumes, -	945,000		
	11,476,000		10,674,700

his management, an ordinarily ſhort crop into a ſcarcity; and he made that ſcarcity a famine; to remedy which, he aſſumes ſo much merit, as to nauſeate a common reader.

This

This account ſhews pretty clearly how well founded the miniſter was, when he attempted to throw on the wiſe meaſures of his predeceſſor the miſchiefs which aroſe from his own pernicious prejudices alone; and how the liberty of commerce, which had taken place moſt advantageouſly in conſequence of the free trade in 1787, had been more an import trade than an export one; and, of courſe, it ſhews, that when he adviſed his ſovereign to prohibit that trade, he acted directly contrary even to his own principles; and he did this at the hazard of raiſing a general alarm in the kingdom, which is always of worſe conſequence than any poſſible export. His whole conduct, therefore, was one continued ſeries of ſuch errors, as can, in a ſenſible man, be attributed only to the predominant vanity that inſtigated him to hazard the welfare of a great nation to defend a treatiſe of his own compoſition. But as this miniſter thought proper to change the ſyſtem of a natural export and import; and to ſpread, by his meaſures an alarm amongſt the people, that ſeemed to confirm their own apprehenſions, let us next examine what he did to cure the evils he had thus created. He imported, at the enormous expence of 45,543,697 liv. (about 2,000,000 ſterling) the quantity of 1,404,463 quintals of corn of all ſorts, which, at 240 lb. make 585,192 ſeptiers, ſufficient to feed no more than 195,064 people a year. At three ſeptiers per head, for the population of 26 millions of mouths, this ſupply, thus egregiouſly boaſted of, would not, by 55,908 ſeptiers, feed

France

France even for three days; for her daily conſumption is 213,700 ſeptiers: nor have I the leaſt doubt of more perſons dying of famine, in conſequence of his meaſures, than all the corn he procured would feed for a year *. So abſolutely contemptible is all importation as a remedy for famine! and ſo utterly ridiculous is the idea of preventing your own people from being ſtarved, by allowing an import, which, in its greateſt and moſt forced quantities, bears ſo trifling a proportion to the conſumption of a whole people, even when bribed, rather than bought from every country in Europe! But a concluſion of much greater importance is to be deduced from theſe curious facts, in the moſt explicit confirmation of the preceding principles, that all *great* variations in the price of corn are engendered by apprehenſion, and do not depend on the quantity in the markets. The report of Monſ. Necker's meaſures, we have found, did not ſink, but raiſed the price: providing France with leſs than three days bread, when blazed forth with all the apparatus of government, actually RAISED the price in the markets, where I was a witneſs, 25 per cent. Of what poſſible conſequence was three days proviſion added to the national ſtock, when compared with the miſery and famine implied——and which actually took place in conſequence of puſhing

* At a moment when here was a great ſtagnation in every ſort of employment, a high price of bread, inſtead of a moderate one, muſt have deſtroyed many; there was no doubt of great numbers dying for want in every part of the kingdom.

the price up ſo enormouſly, by Monſ. Necker's meaſures? Would it not have been infinitely wiſer never to have ſtopped the trade, which I have proved to have been a trade of import?—— Never to have expreſſed any ſolicitude?——Never to have taken any public ſteps, but to have let the demand and ſupply quietly meet, without noiſe and without parade? The conſequence would have been, ſaving 45 millions of public money, and the lives of ſome hundred thouſands, ſtarved by the high price that was created, even without a ſcarcity; for I am firmly perſuaded, that if no public ſtep whatever had been taken, and the archbiſhop of Sens' edict never repealed, the price of wheat in no part of France would have ſeen, in 1789, ſo high a rate as 30 liv. inſtead of riſing to 50 and 57 liv. If there is any truth in theſe principles, what are we to think of the firſt miniſter hunting after a little popularity, and boaſting, in his *Memoire*, that the King allowed only bread of wheat and rye mixed to be ſerved at his own table? What were the concluſions to be looked for in the people, but that if ſuch were the extremities to which France was reduced, all were in danger of death for want of bread. The conſequence is palpable;——a blind rage againſt monopolizers, hanging bakers, ſeizing barges, and ſetting fire to magazines; and the inevitable effect of a ſudden and enormous riſe in the price, wherever ſuch meaſures are precipitated by the populace, who never are truly active but in their own deſtruction. It was the ſame ſpirit that dictated the following

lowing paſſage, in that *Memoire inſtructif*, "Les accaparements ſont la premiere cauſe à la quelle la multitude attribue la cherté des grains, & en effet on a ſouvent eu lieu de ſe plaindre de la cupidité des ſpeculateurs *. I cannot read theſe lines, which are as untrue in fact as erroneous in argument, without indignation. The multitude NEVER have to complain of ſpeculators; they are ALWAYS greatly indebted to them. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS MONOPOLIZING CORN BUT TO THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE †. And all the evils of the

* This is pretty much like his ſending a memoir to the National Aſſembly, which was read October 24, in which the miniſters ſay, "Il eſt donc urgent de defendre de plus en plus l'exportation en France; mis il eſt difficile de veiller à cette prohibition. On a fait placer de cordons de troupes ſur les frontieres à cette effet." *Journal des Etats Généraux*, tom. v. p. 194. Every expreſſion of this nature becoming public, tended to inflame the people, and conſequently to raiſe the price.

† I am much inclined to believe, that no ſort of monoply ever was, or ever can be injurious without the aſſiſtance of government; and that government never tends in the leaſt to favour a monopoly without doing infinite miſchief. We have heard in England of attempts to monopolize hemp, allum, cotton, and many other articles; ill-conceived ſpeculations, that always ended in the ruin of ſchemers, and eventually did good, as I could ſhew, if this were the proper place, But to monopolize any article of common and daily ſupply and conſumption to a miſchievous degree, is abſolutely impoſſible: to buy large quantities, at the cheapeſt ſeaſon of the year, in order to hoard and bring them out at the very dearest moment, is the idea of a monopolizer or *accapareur*: this is, of all other tranſactions, the moſt beneficial towards an equal ſupply.

year 1789 would have been prevented, if monopolizers, by raiſing the price in the preceding autumn, and by leſſening the conſumption, had divided the ſupply more equally through the year. In a country like France, ſub-divided miſchievouſly into little

ply. The wheat which ſuch a man buys is cheap, or he would not buy it with a view to profit: What does he then? He takes *from* the market a portion, when the ſupply is large; and he brings that portion *to* the market when the ſupply is ſmall; and for doing this you hang him as an enemy. Why? Becauſe he has made a private profit, perhaps a very great one, by coming in between the farmer and the conſumer. What ſhould induce him to carry on his buſineſs, except the deſire of profit? But the benefit of the people is exactly in proportion to the greatneſs of that profit, ſince it ariſes directly from the low price of corn at one ſeaſon, and the dearneſs of it at another. Moſt clearly any trade which tends to level this inequality is advantageous in proportion as it effects it. By buying great quantities when cheap, the price is raiſed, and the *conſumption forced to be more ſparing*: this circumſtance can alone ſave the people from famine; if, when the crop is ſcanty, the people conſume plentifully in autumn, they muſt inevitably ſtarve in ſummer; and they certainly will conſume plentifully if corn is cheap. Government cannot ſtep in and ſay, you ſhall now eat half a pound of bread only, that you may not by-and-by be put to half an ounce. Government cannot do this without erecting granaries, which we know, by the experience of all Europe, is a moſt pernicious ſyſtem, and done at an expence which, if laid out in premiums, encouraging cultivation, would convert deſerts into fruitful corn-fields. But private monopolizers can and do effect it; for by their purchaſes in cheap months they raiſe the price, and exactly in that proportion leſſen the conſumption; this is the great object, for nothing elſe can make a ſhort crop hold

little farms, the quantity of corn in the markets in autumn is always beyond the proportion reſerved for ſupplying the reſt of the year: of this evil, the beſt remedy is, enlarging the ſize of farms; but when this does not take place, the dealings of monopolizers are the only reſource. They buy when corn is cheap, in order *to hoard it* till it is dear; this is their ſpeculation, and it is preciſely the conduct that keeps the people from ſtarving; all imaginable encouragement ſhould be given to ſuch merchants, whoſe buſineſs anſwers every purpoſe of public granaries, without any of the evils that are

hold out through the year; when once this is effected, the people are ſafe; they may pay very dear afterwards, but the corn will be forth coming, and they will have it though at a high price. But reverſe the medal, and ſuppoſe no monopolizers; in ſuch a caſe, the cheapneſs in autumn continuing, the free conſumption would continue with it; and an undue portion being eaten in winter, the ſummer would come without its ſupply: this was manifeſtly the hiſtory of 1789; the people enraged at the idea of monopolizers, not at their real exiſtence (for the nation was ſtarving for want of them), hung the miſerable dealers, on the idea of their having done what they were utterly unable to do. Thus, with ſuch a ſyſtem of ſmall farms as empty the whole crop into the markets in autum, and make no reſerve for ſummer, there is no poſſible remedy, but many and great monopolizers, who are beneficial to the public exactly in proportion to their profits. But in a country like England, divided into large farms, ſuch corn dealers are not equally wanted; the farmers are rich enough to wait for their returns, and keep a due reſerve in ſtacks to be threſhed in ſummer; the beſt of all methods of keeping corn, and the only one in which it receives *no* damage.

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ſure to flow from them *. It may eaſily be conceived, that in a country where the people live almoſt entirely on bread, and the blind proceedings of mobs are encouraged by arrets of parliaments, ſeconded by ſuch blunders of government as I have deſcribed, and unaided by the beneficial exiſtence of real monopolizers; it may eaſily be conceived, I ſay, that the ſupply muſt be irregular, and in many inſtances inſufficient: it muſt be inſufficient, exactly in proportion to the violence of the populace; and a very high price will be the unavoidable conſequence, whatever may be the quantity in the kingdom. In June and July 1789, the markets were not opened, before troops arrived to protect the farmers from having their corn ſeized; and the magiſtrates, to avoid inſurrections among the people, ſet the aſſize too low upon corn, bread, and butcher's meat; that is, they fixed the prices at which they were to be ſold, which is a moſt pernicious regulation. The farmers, in conſequence, refrained from going to market, in order to ſell their wheat at home at the beſt price they could get, which was of courſe much higher than the aſſize of the markets. How well theſe principles, which ſuch ample experience proves to be juſt, are

* Well has it been obſerved by a modern writer, "Lorſque les recoltes manquent en quelque lieu d'un grand empire, les travaux du reſte de ſes provinces etant payes d'une heureuſe fecondite ſuffiſent à la conſommation de la totalité. Sans ſollicitude de la part du gouvernment; ſans magazins publics, par le ſeul effet d'une communication libre & facile on n'y connoit ni diſette in grande cherte. *Theorie du Luxe*, tom. i. p. 5.

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underſtood in France, may be collected from the *cahiers*, many of which demand meaſures which, if really purſued, would ſpread abſolute famine through every province in the kingdom. It is demanded at one place, "that as France is expoſed to the rigours of famine, every farmer ſhould be obliged to regiſter his crop of every kind, gerbs, bottes, muids, &c.; and alſo every month the quantity ſold †." Another requires, "the export be ſeverely prohibited, as well as the circulation from province to province; and that importation be always allowed ‡." A third ‖, "that the ſevereſt laws be paſſed againſt monopolizers; a circumſtance, which at preſent deſolates the kingdom." A ſyſtem of prohibition of export is demanded by no leſs than twelve *cahiers* §. And fifteen demand the erection of public magazines *. Of all ſoleciſms, none ever equalled Paris demanding that the tranſport of corn from province to province ſhould be prohibited. Such a requeſt is really edifying, by offering

† *Tier Etat de Meudon*, p. 36.

‡ *Tier Etat de Paris*, p. 43.

‖ *Tier Etat de Reims*, art. 110.

§ *Nob. de Queſnoy*, p. 24. *Nob. de St. Quentin*, p. 9. *Nob. de Lille*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Reims*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Rouen*, p. 43. *T. Etat de Dunkerque*, p. 15. *T. Etat de Metz*, p. 46. *Clergé. de Rouen*, p. 24. *T. Etat de Rennes*, p. 65. *T. Etat de Valenciennes*, p. 12. *T. Etat de Troyes*, art. 96. *T. Etat de Dourdon*, art. 3.

* I have lately ſeen (January, 1792), in public print, the mention of a propoſal of one of the miniſters to erect public magazines; there wants nothing elſe to complete the ſyſtem of abſurdity

offering to the attention of the philoſophical obſerver, mankind under a new feature, worthy of the knowledge and intelligence that ought to reign in the capital of a great empire; and Monſ. Necker was exactly ſuited to be miniſter in the corn department of ſuch a city!——The concluſions to be drawn from the whole buſineſs, are evident enough. There is but one policy which can ſecure a ſupply with entire ſafety to a kingdom ſo populous and ſo ill † cultivated as France, with ſo large a portion of its territory under wood and vines; the policy I mean is an entire and abſolute liberty of export and import at all times, and at all prices, to be perſiſted in with the ſame unremitted firmneſs, that has not only reſcued Tuſ-

abſurdity in relation to corn which has infeſted that fine kingdom. Magazines can do nothing more than private *accapareurs*; they can only buy when corn is cheap, and ſell when it is dear; but they do this at ſuch a vaſt expence, and with ſo little œconomy, that if they do not take an equal advantage and profit with private ſpeculators, they muſt demand an enormous tax to enable them to carry on their buſineſs; and if they *do* take ſuch profit, the people are never the better for them. Mr. Symonds, in his paper on the public magazines of Italy, has proved them to be every where nuiſances. See *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xiii. p. 299, &c.

† The aſſertion of the marquis de Caſſaux, "that the free corn trade eſtabliſhed by Monſ. Turgot, increaſed the productions of the agriculture of France as 150 to 100" (*Seconde Suite de Conſid. ſur les Méch. des Sec.* p. 119.), muſt be received with great caution. That of Monſ. Millot, "that the lands of the ſame kingdom produced five times as much in Henry IV.'s reign as they do at preſent," is a very groſs error, irreconcileable with the leaſt degree of probability. *Elem. de l' Hiſt. Gen.* p. ii. p. 488.

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cany from the jaws of periodical famines, but has given her eighteen years of plenty, without the intervention of a moment's want. A great and important experiment! and if it has anſwered in ſuch a mountainous, and, on compariſon with France, a barren territory, though full of people, aſſuredly it would fulfil every hope, in ſo noble and fertile a kingdom as France. But to ſecure a regular and certain ſupply, it is neceſſary that the farmer be equally ſecure of a ſteady and good price. The average price in France vibrates between 18 and 22 liv. a ſeptier of 240 lb. ‡ I made inquiries through many provinces in 1789, into the common price, as well as that of the moment, and found (reducing their meaſures to the ſeptier of 240 lb.), that the mean price in Champagne is 18 liv.; in Loraine 17½; in Alſace 22 liv.; in Franche Compté 20 liv.; in Bourgogne 18 liv.; at Avignon, &c. 24; at Paris, I believe, it may be calculated at 19 liv.——Perhaps the price,

Price of Wheat at Paris, or at Roſey, for 146 Years.

Price of 73 Years, the Reign of Louis XIV.

	Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1643 to 1652	35	14	1
1653 to 1662	32	12	2
1663 to 1672	23	6	11
1673 to 1682	25	13	8
1683 to 1692	22	0	4
1693 to 1702	31	16	1
1703 to 1712	23	17	1
1713 to 1715	33	1	6
General Average,	28	1	5

Price of 73 Years, the Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI.

	Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1716 to 1725	17	10	9
1726 to 1735	16	9	4
1736 to 1745	18	15	7
1746 to 1755	18	10	11
1756 to 1765	17	9	1
1766 to 1775	28	7	9
1776 to 1785	22	4	7
... 1786	20	12	6
1787	22	2	6
1788	24	0	0
General Average	20	1	4

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through the whole kingdom, would be found to be about 20 liv. Now, without entering into any analyſis of the ſubject, or forming any compariſon with other countries, France ought to know, at leaſt ſhe has dearly learned from experience, that this is not a price ſufficient to give ſuch encouragement to the farmers as to ſecure her a certainty of ſupply: no nation can have enough without a ſurplus: and no ſupply will ever be raiſed, where there is not a free corn trade.——The object, therefore, of an abſolutely free export, is to ſecure the home ſupply. The mere profit of ſelling corn is no object: it is leſs than none; for the right uſe thereof is to feed your own people. But they cannot be fed, if the farmers have not encouragement to improve their agriculture; and this encouragement muſt certainly be of a good price. Experience has proved ſufficiently, that 20 liv. will not do. An abſolute freedom of interior circulation is ſo obviouſly neceſſary, that to name it is ſufficient *.

* The internal ſhackles on the corn trade of France, are ſuch as will greatly impede the eſtabliſhment of that perfect freedom which alone forms the proper regulation for ſuch a country. M. Turgot, in his *Letters ſur les Grains*, p. 126, notices a moſt abſurd duty at Bourdeaux, of 20*ſ.* per ſeptier on all wheat conſumed there, or even depoſited for foreign commerce; a duty which ought to have prevented the remark of the author of *Crédit National*, p. 222, who mentions, as an extraordinary fact, "that at Toulouze there is a duty of 12*ſ.* per ſeptier on grinding, yet bread is cheaper there than at Bourdeaux." Surely it ſhould be ſo? it ought to be 8*ſ.* the ſeptier cheaper.

A great

A great and decided encouragement to monopolizers † is as neceſſary to the regular ſurplus, as that ſeed ſhould be ſown to procure a crop; but reaping, in order to load the markets in winter, and to ſtarve the people in ſummer, can be remedied by no other perſon but an *accapareur*. While ſuch men are therefore objects of public hatred; while even laws are in force againſt them (the moſt prepoſterous that can diſgrace a people, ſince they are made by the mouth, againſt the hand for lifting food to it), no regular ſupply can be looked for.——We may expect to ſee famine periodical, in a kingdom governed by the principles which muſt take place, where the populace rule not by enlightened repreſentatives, but by the violence of their ignorant and unmanageable wills. Paris governs the National Aſſembly; and the maſs of the people, in great cities, are all alike, abſolutely ignorant how they are fed; and whether the bread they eat be gathered like acorns from a tree, or rained from the clouds, they are well convinced, that God Almighty ſends the bread, and that they have the beſt poſſible right to eat it. The courts of London Aldermen and common council-men have, in every period, reaſoned

† The word *ſpeculator*, in various paſſages of this chapter, would be as proper as *monopolizer*, they mean the ſame thing as *accapareur*; a man who buys corn with a view to ſelling it at a higher price; whatever term is uſed, the thing meant is every where underſtood.

juſt like the populace of Paris *. The preſent ſyſtem of France, relative to agriculture, is curious,

To encourage inveſtments in land,
I. TAX IT THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS.
To enable the land to pay it,
II. PROHIBIT THE EXPORT OF CORN.
That cultivation may be rich and ſpirited,
III. ENCOURAGE SMALL FARMS.
That cattle may be plentiful,
IV. FORBID THE INCLOSURE OF COMMONS.
And that the ſupply of the markets may be equal in ſummer as in winter,
V. HANG ALL MONOPOLIZERS.

Such

* Aldermen, common councilmen and mobs, are conſiſtent when they talk nonſenſe; but philoſophers are not ſo eaſily to be pardoned; when M. l'Abbe Rozier declares, "que la France recolte année ordinaire prés du double plus de bled qu'elle n'en conſomme," (*Recueil de Mémoires ſur la Culture & le Rouiſſage du chanvre*, 8vo, 1787. p. 5.) he wrote what has a direct tendency to inflame the people; for the concluſion they muſt draw is, that an immenſe and incredible export is always going on. If France produces in a common year double her conſumption, what becomes of the ſurplus? Where are the other 26 millions of people that are fed with French corn? Where do the 78,000,000 of ſeptiers go that France has to ſpare; a quantity that would load all the ſhips poſſeſſed by that kingdom above thirty times to carry it. Inſtead of the common crop equalling two years conſumption, it certainly does not equal thirteen months *common* conſumption; that is, ſuch a conſumption as takes place at an average price. And all the difference of crops is, that conſumption is moderate with a bad product, and plentiful with a good one.

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Such may be called the agricultural code of the new government of France †. But there is reasonable ground to imagine, as well as to hope, that such a system will not be persevered in.

CHAP.

The failure of a crop in one province in a very small degree, which, under a good government, and entire liberty of trade, would not even be felt, will under a system of restrictions and prohibitions raise the price through the whole kingdom enormously; and if measures are taken to correct it by government, they will convert the high price into a famine. The author of *Traité d'Economie Politique*, 8vo. 1783, p. 592. does not talk quite so greatly, when he says a good crop will not feed France a year and a half; but pretty near it. The absurdities that daily appear on this subject are astonishing. In a work now publishing, it is said, that a moderate crop furnishes England for three years, and a good one for five. *Encyclopædie Methodique Economie, Pol.* pt. i. tom. 1. p. 75. This assertion is copied from an Italian, *viz. Zanoni delle Agricoltura*, 1763. 8vo. tom. i. p. 109. who took it verbatim from *Essais sur divers sujets interessans de politique et de morale*, 8vo. 1760. p. 216. It is thus that such nonsense becomes propagated, when authors are content to copy one another, without knowledge or consideration,

† The errors of such a system are unquestionable; but it deserves notice, as I have in various passages in other chapters declared, that the profit of agriculture in France might be very great, and much beyond any thing we commonly know in England, that these five capital errors do not invalidate that opinion. The tax of 300,000,000 amounts to 3*s.* in the pound; a very heavy and impolitic burthen, but light on comparison of our taxes. The prohibition of export, and operations against monopolizers, are hurtful only to the public as consumers, and to little farmers who are forced to sell in autumn; but beneficial to all who can keep their own corn to sell in spring and summer. Encouraging small farms is absurd, but

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CHAP. XIX.

Of the Commerce of France.

AGRICULTURE, manufactures, and commerce, uniting to form what may be properly termed the maſs of national induſtry, are ſo intimately connected in point of intereſt, under the diſpenſations of a wiſe political ſyſtem, that it is impoſſible to treat amply of one of them, without perpetually recurring to the others. I feel, in the progreſs of my undertaking, the impoſſibility of giving the reader a clear idea of all the intereſts of French agriculture, without inſerting, at the ſame time, ſome details of manufactures and commerce. The opportunities I poſſeſſed of gaining ſome valuable intelligence, enable me to inſert ſeveral accounts hitherto unpubliſhed which I believe my commercial readers (ſhould I have any ſuch), will not be diſpleaſed to examine.

it does not prohibit large ones. Forbidding the incloſure of commons makes it eſſentially neceſſary for ſuch as ſettle in France to fix where there are none; the kingdom ſuffers greatly, but not the individual who chuſes his ſpot well. The policy, as a ſyſtem, is too abſurd to be maintained, and will have effects very contrary to thoſe expected.

Imports

Imports into France in 1784.

	liv.
Woods,	216,200
Timber,	1,866,800
Hoops, &c.	92,100
Staves,	628,500
Planks,	2,412 000
Pitch and Tar,	825,200
Aſhes,	1,372,600
Soda and pot aſh,	3,873,900
Kelp,	50,700
Peat aſhes for manure,	665,100
Grain,	141,500
Millet and Canary,	51,400
Flax ſeed,	612,600

	liv.
Hops,	272,400
Tallow loaves,	1,130,400
Refuſe of ſilk,	94,900
Hemp,	4,385,300
Hemp and flax thread,	2,091,100
Thread of refuſe ſilk,	55,800
Various wools,	25,925,000
Spun ditto,	119,400
Vigonia ditto,	259,800
Flax,	1,109,500
Silk raw,	29,582,700

Manufactured Goods.

Mercery, thread, & boneterie,	335,500
Woollen ſtuffs,	81,300
Ditto ſilk,	430,700
Bours d'oeſt,	252,200
Silk gauzes,	54,700
Silk handkerchiefs,	115,900
Silk ribbons,	374,400
Ribbons of wool,	87,500
Thread ribbons,	1,406,100
Ribbons of thread and wool,	92,700
Linen, flax, & hemp, mixed,	1,918,600
Linen of flax,	4,849,700
Table linen,	99,200
Linen called *platile*,	602,100
——*treilis*,	892,700
——*coutis* hemp,	432,000
Sail cloth,	157,700
Candles,	50,300

Yellow wax,	1,317,900
Cordage,	99,000
Horſe hair,	59,000
Raw hides,	2,805,400
Diſtilled waters and oils,	87,500
Eſſences,	126,500
Dreſſes,	93,200
Oil of grain,	248,300
Corks,	219,300
——in plank,	97,100
Skins,	873,400
—goats and kids,	148,400
—calves,	115,200
—hares and rabbits,	78,600
Quills,	143,900
Bed feathers,	81,700
Hog and wild boar hair,	148,400
Coaches,	783,900

Edibles.

Edibles.

	liv.
Almonds,	140,600
Butter,	880,100
Salt beef,	1,716,400
Salt pork,	181,600
Cheese,	3,352,700
Fruits,	238,100
Lemons and oranges, &c. (in No. 17,543, [000),	731,000
Sweetmeats,	52,600
Dried fruits and figs,	254,600
Dried grapes,	248,300
Wheat,	5,347,900
Rye,	139,800
Barley,	163,800
Oil of Olives,	25,615,700
Legumes,	550,200
Vermicelli,	287,000
Salt,	113,800
Various edibles,	90,800
Beer,	383,500
Brandy of wine,	1,151,900
Brandy of corn,	1,086,900
Liqueurs and Lemon juice,	62,900
Various wines,	684,900
Desert wines,	362,200
Cattle of all sorts,	31,800
Oxen,	1,355,200
Sheep,	1,087,000
Hogs,	276,100
Cows and bulls,	1,264,800
Calves,	89,300
Horses,	2,052,900
Mules,	148,400
Liquorice juice,	67,300
Gall nuts,	313,000
Madder,	476,600
Roots of Allisary,	226,300
Saffranam,	578,700
Shumac,	73,200
Turnsole,	87,600
Tobacco leaf,	5,993,100

Exports the same Year.

Various woods,	89,600
Plank,	66,300
Pitch and tar,	255,700
Common ashes,	152,000
Charcoal,	70,600
Coals,	419,000
Grains,	148,900
Colesseed,	144,900
Garden seeds,	75,700
Flax seed,	248,900
Bours of silk,	94,700
Hemp,	47,200
Thread of flax and hemp,	143,400
Wool,	1,576,500
Silk,	2,657,600
Boneterie of thread, &c.	175,100
——— of silk,	83,400
Woollen stockings,	365,500
Woollen caps,	413,100
Boneterie of silk,	3,375,100
Hats,	86,200
Boneterie of hair and wool,	910,300
Silk laces,	2,589,200
Laces of thread and silk,	445,300
Woollen cloth,	15,530,900
Various stuffs,	122,300

Woollen

	liv.
Woollen ſtuffs,	7,491,300
Stuffs of thread and wool,	109,300
——hair,	3,655,700
——hair and wool,	633,600
——rich in gold,	1,538,500
Silk ſtuffs,	14,834,100
Stuffs mixed with ſilk,	649,600
Silk gauzes,	5,452,000
Thread and ſilk gauzes,	209,000
Thread and cotten handkerchiefs,	405,800
Silk handkerchiefs,	118,000
Silk ribbons,	1,231,900
Linen of flax and hemp mixed,	12,473,200
——flax,	1,727,800
——fine,	346,300
Cambric and linen,	6,173,200
Linen of thread and cotton,	291,400
——ſiamoiſes,	1,047,600
——hemp,	344,300
Candles,	78,700
Wax,	449,800
Wax candles,	90,400
Woollen blankets,	129,800
Raw leathers,	96,300
Prepared leathers,	304,500
Leather curried,	137,700
——tanned,	698,100
Diſtilled water and oils,	167,500
Gloves of ſkins,	63,900
——Grenoble,	491,700
Dreſſes,	131,100
Oil of grains,	368,100
Corks,	65,500
——in plank,	110,600
Cabinet ware,	65,700
Willow ware,	54,800
Cole ſeed cakes,	547,600
Parchment,	76,100

	liv.
Perfumery,	196,100
Various ſkins,	123,500
Skins of goats and kids,	156,800
—calves prepared,	448,600
—ſheep ditto,	312,500
—calves curried,	1,571,100
—ſheep and calves tanned,	256,000
Feathers prepared,	54,600
Soap,	1,376,700
Various edibles,	49,100
Almonds,	450,800
Butter,	118,400
Salt meat,	121,400
Flour,	1,271,500
Cheeſe	144,100
Various fruits,	279,000
Raw ditto,	131,500
Dried ditto,	69,600
Prunes dried,	791,700
Grapes,	324,200
Wheat,	2,608,300
Rye	239,400
Meſlin and maiz,	52,700
Indian corn,	633,100
Barley,	321,100
Legumes,	558,600
Oil of Olives,	1,346,100
Honey,	361,800
Eggs,	75,200
Salt,	2,189,800
Wine brandy,	11,035,200
Corn ditto,	1,045,500
Liqueurs,	205,300
Wines,	6,807,900
Wines of Bourdeaux,	16,150,900
Vinegar,	124,400
Cattle,	108,600
Oxen, (No. 7659,)	1,088,200
Sheep, (No. 104,990),	1,017,200
Hogs,	965,800
Cows and bulls,	227,000

	liv.		liv.
Horſes,	455,700	Terebinth,	128,403
Mules,	1,509,000	Verdigriſe,	266,300
Saffron,	239,200	Tobacco leaf,	418,400
Oil of terebinth,	46,000	——rapé,	653,100

N. B. The provinces of Loraine, Alſace, and the three biſhoprics, are not included in this account, nor any export or import to or from the Weſt Indies.

Total export,	-	307,151,700 liv.
——import,	-	271,365,000
Balance,		35,786,700 £. 1,565,688 ſterl.

Imports into France in 1787.

Steel from Holland, Switzerland and Germany,	862,000	Garden ſeeds, flax, and millet,	1,115,000
Copper,	7,217,000	Madder and roots of Alliſary,	962,000
Tin from England,	885,000	Wheat,	8,116,000
Iron from Sweden and Germany,	8,469,000	Rice,	2,040,000
Braſs from ditto,	1,175,000	Barley,	375,000
Lead from England and the Hanſiatic towns,	2,242,000	Legumes,	945,000
Steel manufactures from Germany and England,	4,927,000	Fruits,	3,060,000
Coals from England, Flanders and Tuſcany,	5,647,000	Butter,	2,507,000
Woods from the Baltic,	5,408,000	Salt beef and pork,	2,960,000
Woods *feuillard & merrin*,	1,593,000	Cheeſe,	4,522,000
Cork from Spain,	262,000	Oil of olives,	16,645,000
Pitch and tar,	1,557,000	Brandy of corn,	1,874,000
Aſhes, ſoda, and pot aſh,	5,762,000	——of wine,	3,715,000
Yellow wax,	2,260,000	Wines,	1,489,000
		Beer,	469,000
		Oxen, ſheep, and hogs,	6,646,000
		Horſes and mules,	2,911,000
		Raw hides,	2,707,000
		Skins not prepared,	1,180,000
		Goats hair from Levant,	1,137,000
		Briſtles of hogs and wild boars,	275,000

Tallow,

	liv.
Tallow,	3,111,000
Raw wool,	20,684,000
Woollen ſtuffs,	4,325,000
Raw ſilk,	28,266,000
Silk manufactures,	4,154,000
Flax,	6,056,000
Linens of flax,	11,955,000
Hemp,	5,040,000
Linen of hemp,	6,544,000
Cotton from the Brazils, the Levant, and Naples,	16,491,000
Cotton manufactures,	13,448,000
Tobacco,	14,142,000
Drugs, ſpices, glaſs, pottery, books, feathers, &c. &c.	61,820,000

Exports in the ſame Year.

Timber and wood of all ſorts,	166,300
Pitch and tar,	317,100
Aſhes for manure,	59,400
Charcoal,	31,300
Vetch hay,	12,000
Garden ſeeds, flax ſeed, &c.	988,500
Greaſe,	17,300
Hops,	105,600
Tallow loaves,	145,600
Cocoon ſilk refuſe,	41,500
Threads of all ſorts,	241,800
Hemp,	117,100
Wool, raw and ſpun,	4,378,905
Flax,	22,800
Rabbits wool,	10,400
Silk,	628,000
Starch,	32,200
Candles,	131,900
Horſes,	42,100
Wax,	307,800
Cordage,	268,000
Tanned leather,	1,280,300
Raw leather,	116,000
Diſtilled waters and oils,	162,500
Pigeon's dung,	37,000
Spirit of wine,	144,700
Eſſences,	10,000
Staves,	22,800
Gloves,	428,900
Linſeed oil,	174,800
Corks,	139,000
Coleſeed oil cakes,	449,500
Sheep, roebuck, and calves-ſkins tanned,	2,705,200
Feathers for beds,	51,100
Soap,	1,752,800
Almonds,	850,500
Butter,	88,600
Salted meat,	487,700
Preſerved fruits,	1,518,600
Corn of all ſorts, except hereafter named,	3,165,600
Wheat,	6,559,900
Legumes,	949 200
Olive oil,	1,732,400
Honey,	644,600
Eggs,	99,800
Salt,	2,322,500
Poultry,	35,700
Cyder,	17,500
Brandy of wine (114,044 muids,)	14,455,600
Liqueurs,	234,000
Wines in general, (159,222 muids	8,558,200

	liv.
Wines, Bourdeaux (201,246 muids), -	17,718,100
——Vin de liqueurs,	10,000
Vinegar, -	130,900
Oxen, hogs, ſheep, &c. - -	5,074,200
Mules, horſes, aſſes, -	1,453,700
Juice of lemons,	60,000
——liquorice, -	35,300
Liquorice,	24,600

	liv.
Saffron, -	214,900
Roots of Allifary, -	1,500
Salt of Tartar, -	14,900
Shumac, -	10,200
Terebinth, -	33,100
Turnſole, -	12,200
Verdigriſe, -	512,400
Cloth, -	14,242,400
Woollen ſtuffs,	5,615,800
Cotton, linen, Cambric, &c.	19,692,000
Of this Cambric	5,230,000liv.

Total exports, including the articles not here minuted, -	349,725,400 liv.	
——imports, -	310,184,000	
Balance, -	39,541,400	£. 1,729,936 ſter.

Explanation.——The contraband trade of export and import has been calculated, and the true balance found to be about 25,000,000 liv. (1,093,750l.), the provinces of Loraine, Alſace, the three biſhoprics, and the Weſt Indies, not included.

Obſervations.

The preceding accounts of the trade of France for theſe two years, are correct in all probability in the articles noted; but that they are imperfect there is great reaſon to believe. In 1787 there is an import of raw metals to the amount of above 20 millions; but in the account of 1784 there is no ſuch article in the liſt, which is plainly an omiſſion. And though coals are among the exports in 1784, there are none in the imports, which is another

ther omiſſion. In the manufactured articles alſo are various omiſſions, not eaſily to be accounted for, though the treaty of commerce explains ſome articles, as that of cotton manufactures, &c.: the idea to be formed of the exports and imports of France ſhould be gathered from an union of the two, rather than from either of them ſeparate. No idea, thus to be gained or acquired by any other combinations, will allow for one moment the poſſibility of a balance of commerce of 70,000,000 liv. (3,062,500l.) in favour of France, which Monſ. Necker has calculated it to be, in his book, *De l' Adminiſtration des Finances*, and which calculation the marquis de Caſſaux, in his *Mechaniſm des Societés*, has refuted in an unanſwerable manner. It will be curious to examine what is the amount of the imports of the produce of land, minerals excluded.

In 1784 the imports of the net produce of land amounted to,	liv.
Wool,	25,925,000
Silk,	29,582,700
Hemp, and flax,	5,494,800
Oil,	25,615,700
Live ſtock and its produce,	18,398,400
Corn,	5,651,500
Sundries,	24,890,700
	135,558,800

In 1787 the ſame articles are,	liv.
Wool,	20,884,000
Silk,	28,266,000
Hemp and flax,	11,096,000
Oil,	16,645,000
Live ſtock,	29,079,000
Corn,	11,476,000
Tobacco,	14,142,000
Sundries,	24,206,000
	155,794,000

She may be ſaid, therefore, to import in a common year about 145,000,000 liv. (6,343,750l.) of agricultural products: and theſe imports are a ſtriking proof, that I was not wide of the truth when

when I condemned ſo ſeverely the rural œconomy of France in almoſt every particular, the culture of vines alone excepted. For the country, of all Europe the beſt adapted by nature to the production of wool, to import ſo immenſely, ſhews how wretchedly they are underſtocked with ſheep; and how much their agriculture ſuffers for want of the fold of theſe five or ſix millions, in which they are deficient even for their own demand. The import of ſuch great quantities of other ſorts of live ſtock, alſo ſpeaks the ſame language. Their huſbandry is weak and languiſhing in every part of the kingdom, for want of larger flocks of cattle, and the national demands cannot be ſupplied. In this trade of live ſtock there is, however, one circumſtance which does the higheſt honour to the good ſenſe and policy of the old French government; for though wool was ſo much wanted for their fabrics, and many meaſures were taken for increaſing ſheep and improving the breed, yet was there no prohibiton on the export either of live ſheep or wool, nor any duty farther than for aſcertaining the amount. It appears that they exported above 100,000 ſheep annually; and this policy they embraced, not for want of experience of any other (for the export was prohibited for many years), but finding it a diſcouragement to the breed, they laid the trade open, and the ſame plan has been continued ever ſince; by this ſyſtem they are ſure that the price is as high in France as amongſt her neighbours, and conſequently that there is all the encouragement to breed which ſuch equality of

price

price can give. The export of woollen manufactures in 1784, amounts to 24,795,800 liv. or not equal to the import of raw wool. On the general account, therefore, France does not ſupply herſelf; and the treaty of commerce having introduced many Engliſh woollen ſtuffs, ſhe is at preſent farther removed from that ſupply. Conſidering the climate, ſoil, and population of the kingdom, this ſtate of her woollen trade certainly indicates, a moſt groſs neglect. For want of having improved the breed of her ſheep, her wools are very bad, and ſhe is obliged to import, at a hevy expence, other wools, ſome of which are by no means good; and thus her manufacturers are under a heavy diſadvantage, on account of the low ſtate of agriculture. The ſteps ſhe has taken to improve her wools, by giving penſions to academicians, and ordering experiments of inquiry upon obvious points, are not the means of improvement. An Engliſh cultivator, at the head of a ſheep farm of three or four thouſand acres, as I obſerved above, would, in a few years, do more for their wools than all the academicians and philoſophers will effect in ten centuries.

West Indian Trade.

In 1786, the imports from these colonies into France were,

St. Domingo,	131,481,000 liv.
Martinique,	23,958,000
Guadaloupe,	14,360,000
Cayenne,	919,000
Tobago,	4,113,000
St. Lucie, nothing directly.	
	*174,831,000

Of these,—Sugar, 174,222,000 lb.——Coffee, 66,231,000 lb.
——Cottons, 7,595,000 lb.

The navigation in 569 ships of 162,311 tons, of which Bourdeaux † employs 246 ships, of 75,285 tons.

* Total in 1784 was 139,000,000 liv. What can Monf. Begouen, of Havre, mean by raising this to 230,000,000? —800 ships?—1200 ships?—25,000 seamen? and I know not what other extravagances? *Precis sur l' Importance des Colonies.* 8vo. 1790. p. 3. 5. &c. Another writer states, 800 large ships, 500 small ones, and value 240 millions! *Opinion de Monf. Blin*, p. 7. How these calculations are made, I do not conceive.

† Bourdeaux I take to be a place of greater and richer trade, than any provincial towns in the British dominions. Our greatest are,

	Tons.	Seamen.		Tons.	Seamen.
Newcastle, which in 1787 possessed in shipping,	105,000	5,390	Whitby,	46,000	4,200
Liverpool,	72,000	10,000	Hull,	46,000	
Whitehaven,	53,000	4,000	Bristol,	33,000	4,070
Sunderland,	53,000	3,300	Yarmouth,	32,000	
			Lynn,	16,000	
			Dublin,	14,000	

Exports

Exports from France to theſe Iſles in 1786.

To St. Domingo,	44,722,,000 liv.
Martinique, -	12,109,000
Guadaloupe,	6,274,000
Cayenne, -	578,000
Tobago - -	658,000
St. Lucie, nothing directly.	
	64,341,000

	liv.
Imports from the iſles,	174,831,000
Exports to them,	64,341,000
Balance againſt France,	110,490,000

Auguſt 30, 1784, in the miniſtry of the Maréchal de Caſtries, foreigners were permitted, under certain regulations, to trade to the French ſugar iſlands, after a ſpirited controverſy in print for and againſt the meaſure. The trade of 1786, in conſequence of this arret, was as follows:

Imports in the Iſles.

	liv.
From the United States,	13,065,000
Engliſh, -	4,550,000
Spaniards,	2,201,000
Dutch, -	801,000
Portugueſe,	152,000
Danes, -	68,000
Swedes, -	41,000
	20,880,000

Exports from Ditto.

	liv.
To the Americans,	7,263,000
Engliſh, -	1,259,000
Spaniards, -	3,189,000
Dutch, -	2,030,000
Swedes and Danes	391,000
	14,133,000

Navigation of this Trade.

Imports.

	Ships.	Tons.
American veſſels,	1,392	- 105,095
French, -	313	- 9,122
Engliſh, -	189	- 10,192
Spaniſh, -	245	- 6,471
Dutch, Portugueſe Swedes & Danes	34	- 2,229
	2,102	- 133,109

Exports.

	Ships.	Tons.
American, -	1,127	- 85,403
French,	534	- 13,941
Engliſh, -	153	- 10,778
Spaniſh, - -	249	- 5,856
Dutch, &c. -	32	- 1,821
	2,095	117,799

As the cultivation and exports from the iſles in 1786, were greater than in 1784, the demand for French manufactures ought to have been greater alſo; but this was not the caſe.

Export of French linens to the iſles in 1784, 17,796,000 liv.
1786, 13,363,000

It would have been found ſo, if the arret of Auguſt 30th had not opened the colonies to foreigners, who introduced manufactures as well as lumber and proviſions. It is a great queſtion, whether this was right policy: the argument evidently turns on one great hinge; the peculiar benefit to the mother country, from poſſeſſing colonies, is their *ſupply*; to ſell them whatever they demand, and to ſecure the navigation dependent. It is not, to be ſure, of ſugar and coffee that nations plant colonies; they are ſure of thoſe, and of any other commodities, if they be rich enough to pay for them; a Ruſſian, or Pole, is as certain of commanding ſugar as a Frenchman, or an Engliſhman; and the governments of thoſe countries may raiſe as great a revenue on the import, as the governments that poſſeſs the iſlands. The *peculiar* benefit, therefore, of colonies, is the *monoply of their ſupply*. It is in vain to ſay, that permitting the coloniſts to buy what they want at the cheapeſt and the beſt hand, will enable them to raiſe ſo much more ſugar, and tend ultimately to the benefit of the mother country; ſince, let them grow as rich as poſſible, and increaſe their culture to any degree whatever,

whatever, ſtill the advantage of the mother country ariſes from the ſupply; and if ſhe loſes that to gain more ſugar, ſhe loſes all for which the poſſeſſion is deſireable. It would be right for every country to open her colonies to all the world on principles of liberality and freedom; and ſtill it would be better to go one ſtep farther, and have no colonies at all. The ſugar iſlands of all nations, in the Weſt-Indies, including the great iſland of Cuba, are conſiderable enough to form a independent free nation; and it wants not many arguments to ſhew, that the exiſtence of ſuch a one would be far more beneficial to the Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, than the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands as colonies. To return, however, to the arret of Auguſt 30, we may ſafely affirm, that the policy which induced the Maréchal de Caſtries to open the colonies to foreigners was erroneous, and attended with miſchief, in proportion to the extent of the trade that took place in conſequence.

The reſult of the French ſugar trade, reſembles nearly that which England carries on with her ſugar colonies, namely, an immenſe balance againſt her. ——We have writers who tell us, that this trade ought to be judged by a method the reverſe of every other, the merit of it depending not on the exports, but on the imports: I have met with the ſame idea in France; and as it is an object of very great conſequence in the national œconomy, it may be worth remarking, 1, that the advantages reſulting from commerce, are the encouragement of the national induſtry, whether in agriculture or

manufactures; and it is unqeſtionably the exports which give this encouragement, and not the imports of a trade, unleſs they are the raw materials of future labour. 2, The real wealth of all trade conſiſts in the conſumption of the commodities that are the object of ſuch trade; and if a nation be rich enough to conſume great quantities of ſugar and coffee, ſhe has undoubtedly the power of giving activity to a certain quantum of her own induſtry, in conſequence of the commerce which ſuch conſumption occaſions, whether the ſugar be the product of her own colonies, or thoſe of any other power. 3, The taxes levied on Weſt-Indian commodities are no motive whatever for eſteeming the poſſeſſion of ſuch colonies beneficial, ſince it is the *conſumption* that pays the tax, and not the *poſſeſſion* of the land that produces the commodity. 4, The monopoly of navigation is valuable no farther than as it implies the manufacture of ſhipbuilding and fitting out; the poſſeſſion of many ſailors, as inſtruments of future wars, ought to be eſteemed in the ſame light as great Ruſſian or Pruſſian armies; that is to ſay, as the peſts of human ſocieties; as the tools of ambition; and as the inſtruments of wide extended miſery *. 5, The poſſeſſion of ſugar-iſlands, is the inveſtment of immenſe

* Prejudices of the deepeſt root are to be eradicated in England before men will be brought to admit this obvious truth. Thoſe prejudices took their riſe from a daſtardly fear of being conquered by France, which government has taken every art to propagate ever ſince the revolution, the better to promote its own

immenſe capitals in the agricultute of America, inſtead of the agriculture of France: the people of that kingdom ſtarve periodically for want of bread, becauſe the capitals which ſhould raiſe wheat in France are employed on ſugar in St. Domingo. Whatever advantage the advocates for colonies may be ſuppoſed to ſee in ſuch poſſeſſions, they are bound to ſhew, that the inveſtment of equal capitals in the agriculture of France would not be productive of equal and even of infinitely ſuperior benefits. 6, It is ſhewn, in another place, that the agriculture of France is, in the capital employed, 450,000,000l. inferior to that of England; can any madneſs therefore, be greater than the inveſtment of capitals in American agriculture for the ſake of trade, the balance of which is above 100,000,000 liv. againſt the mother country, while nothing but poverty is found in the fields that *ought* to feed Frenchmen? 7, If it be ſaid, that the re-exportation of Weſt-Indian commodities is immenſe, and greater even than the balance, I reply, in the firſt place, that Monſ. Necker gives us reaſon to believe, that this re-exportation is greatly exaggerated; but granting it to riſe to any amount, France bought thoſe commodities before ſhe ſold them, and bought them with hard caſh to the ſum of the balance againſt her; firſt loſing by her

own plans of expence, profuſion, and public debts. Portugal, Sardinia, the little Italian and German States, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. have been able, deficient as they are in government and in people, to defend themſelves; but the Britiſh iſles, with fifteen millions of people, are to be conquered!!

tranſactions

tranſactions with America the ſums ſhe afterwards gains by exporting to the north. The benefit of ſuch a trade is nothing more than the *profit* on the exchange and tranſport. But in the employment of capital, the loſs is great. In all common trades, ſuch as thoſe ſhe carries on with the Levant, or with Spain, ſhe has the common profit of the commerce, without inveſting any capitals in producing the commodities ſhe buys; but in the Weſt Indian commerce ſhe inveſts double capitals, to produce the goods ſhe ſells, and equally to produce the goods ſhe buys. 8, If it ſhould be ſaid that St. Domingo is not to be conſidered as a foreign country, with which France trades, nor a colony, but as a part of itſelf; and that the balance between them is like the balance between Paris and the provinces, then I reply, that it is ſo ill ſituated a province, that to encourage a deviation of capitals from all other provinces to be inveſted in this, is little ſhort of madneſs; *firſt*, from diſtance and cultivation by ſlaves, it is inſecure. If it eſcapes the attacks of European foes, the natural progreſs of events will throw it into the hands of the United States. *Secondly*, it demands a great navy to defend it; and conſequently taxes on all the other provinces, to the amount of two millions ſterling per annum. Of what expence to Languedoc, is the poſſeſſion of Bretagne? Its proportion of the common defence. Is this ſo with St. Domingo? France pays a marine of two millions, but St. Domingo does not pay one ſhilling to defend France, or even to defend

fend itſelf. In common ſenſe, the poſſeſſion of ſuch a province ought to be deemed a principle of poverty and weakneſs, rather than of riches and of ſtrength. 9. I have converſed upon this ſubject at Havre, Nantes, Bourdeaux, and Marſeilles; and I have not yet met with a man able to give me one other ſolid reaſon for ſuch a ſyſtem than the fact that agriculture in the Weſt-Indies is profitable, and not ſo in France. The ſame argument is uſed, and with equal truth, in England. I admit the fact; and it recurs at once to the pernicious doctrine of laying ſuch taxes, reſtrictions, prohibitions, and monopolies on land at home, that men inclined to purſue agriculture as a trade muſt go with their capitals into another hemiſphere, in order to reap an adequate profit. But change this wretched and abominable policy; remove every tax, even to the ſhadow of one on land; throw all on conſumption; proclaim a FREE CORN TRADE; give every man a power of incloſure.—In other words, give in the Bourbonnois what you have given in Domingo, and then ſee if French corn and wool will not return greater profits than American ſugar and coffee. The poſſeſſion of ſugar iſlands, ſo rich and proſperous as thoſe of France and England, dazzles the underſtandings of mankind, who are apt to look only on one ſide, where they ſee navigation, re-export, commercial profit, and a great circulation: they do not reverſe the medal, and ſee, in the miſchievous deviation of capitals from home, agriculture lan-

languiſhing, canals ſtanding ſtill, and roads impaſſable. They do not balance the culture of Martinique by the *landes* of Bourdeaux; the tillage of St. Domingo by the deſarts of Bretagne; or the wealth of Guadaloupe by the miſery of Sologne. If you purchaſe the riches that flow from America by the poverty and wretchedneſs of whole provinces, are you blind enough to think the account a beneficial one? I have uſed no arguments againſt the French ſugar iſlands that are not applicable likewiſe to the Engliſh: I hold them to be equal obſtacles to the proſperity of both kingdoms; and, as far as the experiment of the loſs of North America goes, I am juſtified by that vaſt and important fact—that a country may loſe the monopoly of a diſtant empire, and riſe from the imaginary loſs more rich, more powerful, and more proſperous!

If theſe principles be juſt, and that they are ſo is confirmed by an immenſe range of facts, what are we to think of a politician who declares, that the loſs of Bengal, or the Dutch withdrawing their money from our funds, would ruin England *.

* *Conſid. ſur les Richeſſes et le Luxe.* 8vo. 1787. p. 492. In the ſame ſpirit is the opinion, that England, before the laſt war, had attained the maximum of her proſperity, p. 483.

Exports

Exports of the Products of French Agriculture to the West Indies, in 1787.

	liv.
Wine, brandy, &c.	6,332,000
Edibles,	769,000
Salted meats,	971,000
Flour,	6,944,000
Legumes,	300,000
Candles,	500,000
Woods, cordage, &c.	2,879,000
Raw materials of manufactures,	4,000,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c. the raw materials of,	2,000,000
Raw materials of the exports to Africa,	2,000,000
Exports of the ſoil,	26,685,000

	liv.	
Manufactured goods of national workmanſhip.	20,54900	
Materials, as above,	4,000,000	
		16,549,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c.	10,136,000	
Materials, as above,	2,000,000	
		8,136,000
Exports to Africa,	17000,000	
Materials, as above,	2,004,000	
		15,000,000
Sundry articles,		7.541,000
		73,71.,000

Of which 49,947,000 liv. were French products and manufactures.

Fiſheries.

No trade is ſo beneficial as that of fiſhing; none in which a given capital makes ſuch large returns; nor any ſo favourable to thoſe ideal advantages, which are ſuppoſed to flow from a great navigation. The French were always very aſſiduous in puſhing the progreſs of their fiſheries. Suppoſing them right in the principles of thoſe efforts they have

made to become powerful at ſea, which, however, is exceedingly queſtionable, they have certainly acted wiſely in endeavouring to extend theſe nurſeries of marritime power.

		Ships.	Tons.
Newfoundland and Iſland fiſheries,	1784,	528 -	36,342
	1785,	450 -	48,631
	1786,	453 -	51,143

Moſt of the national fiſheries are flouriſhing; they employed in 1786,

	Ships.	Tons.		Ships.	Tons.
Herrings, &c.	928	—	Iriſh from Dunkerque,	62 -	3,742
Newfoundland,	391	— 47,399	Whale.	4 -	970

Dieppe does moſt in the fiſhing trade, poſſeſſing 556 ſhips, of 21,531 tons.

Trade with the United States.

The commerce which France carries on with the North Americans, is all the reward ſhe reaps from having expended probably 50 millions ſterling to ſecure their freedom. Viſions of the depreſſion of the Britiſh power, played indeed in the imaginations of the cabinet of Verſailles; but peace was ſcarcely returned, before thoſe airy hopes entirely vaniſhed; every hour proved, that England, by the emancipation of her colonies, was ſo far from loſing any thing, that ſhe had gained immenſely: the detail of this trade will prove, that France was as much deceived in one expectation as in the other.

		liv.
On an average of three years preceding the French revolution, the imports from America were		9,600,000
Ditto into the French ſugar iſlands,		11,100,000
		20,700,000
Exports of France to North America,	1,800,000	
Ditto from the Iſles, -	6,400,000	
		8,200,000
Balance,		12,200,000

" Ces républicains," ſays Monſ. Arnould *, " ſe procurent maintenant ſur nous, une balance en argent de 7 à 8 millions, avec laquelle ils ſoudoyent l'induſtrie Angloiſe. Voila donc pour la France le *nec plus ultra* d'un commerce, dont l'eſpoir a pû contribuer, à faire ſacrifier quelques centaines de millions et pluſieurs générations d'hommes!"

Trade to Ruſſia.

It is commonly ſuppoſed in England that the trade which France carries on with Ruſſia is very beneficial, in the amount of the balance; and there are French writers alſo who give the ſame repreſentation; the part in French navigation will appear in the following ſtatement:

	liv.
Imports from Ruſſia to France in 1788,	6,871,900
From France to Ruſſia,	6,108,500
Balance againſt France,	763,400

* *De la Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. i. p. 234.

This, it is to be noted, concerns French bottoms only; the greateſt part of the commerce being carried on in Engliſh and Dutch bottoms.

Navigation.

There is not much reaſon for modern readers to be ſolicitous concerning the commerce or navigation of any country; we may reſt aſſured, that the trading ſpirit which has ſeized all nations, will make the government anxious to promote, as much as poſſible, whatever intereſts their commerce, though their agriculture is, at the ſame moment, in the loweſt ſtate of poverty and neglect. All the Engliſh authorities I have met with, reſpecting the navigation of France, are of a very old date; perſons who are curious in theſe ſpeculations, will probably be pleaſed with the following account:

Ships in France cleared outwards in 1788.

	Ships.		Tons.
For the Levant and coaſt of Barbary,	366	—	45,285
Whale fiſhery,	14	—	3,232
Herring fiſhery,	330	—	9,804
Mackarel fiſhery,	437	—	4,754
Sardinia,	1,441	—	4,289
Freſh both in the ocean and Mediterranean,	2,668	—	11,596
Cod,	432	—	45,446
All parts of Europe and the American States,	2,038	—	128,736
Weſt Indies,	677	—	190,753
Senegal and Guinea,	105	—	35,227
Eaſt Indies, China, Iſles of France and Bourbon, both by company and other ways,	86	—	37,157
	8,588	—	516,279

N. B. The

N. B. The total navigation in Europe and America, either by French or foreign ſhips, amounts to 9,445 ſhips and 556,152 tons.

Cabotage (coaſting Trade) the ſame Year.

	Ships.		Tons.
French ſhips,	22,360	—	997,666
Foreign ditto,	60	—	2,742
	22,420	—	1,000,408

N. B. There is no diſtinction between ſhip and voyage; if a ſhip clears out five times a-year, ſhe is regiſtered every voyage. The article *Sardinia*, which appears ſo large in ſhips, and ſo ſmall in tonnage, muſt, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be for a fiſhery on the coaſts of that iſland.

From the tonnage of the ſhips, as they are called, in the fiſheries, it appears that they are little more than boats: thoſe in the herring fiſhery, are about 30 tons each—and in the mackarel, little more than 10 tons.

The navigation of England for a year, ending the 30th September, 1787, was,

	Ships.		Tonnage.		Men.
Engliſh,	8,711	—	954,729	—	64,532
Scotch,	1,700	—	133,034	—	13,443
Eaſt Indiamen,	54	—	43,629	—	5400
Ireland,	—	—	60,000	—	—
	10,465	—	1,191,392	—	103,375

Without including the Weſt-Indian trade, or that of the North American colonies, or the African or Aſian the Indiamen excepted.

Progreſs

Progress of the French Commerce.*

		Imports liv.		Exports. liv.
1716 to 1720, peace,	Average per annum.	65,079,000	—	106,216,000
1721 to 1732, peace,		80,198,000	—	116,765,000
1733 to 1735, war,		76,600,000	—	124,465,000
1736 to 1739, peace,		102,035,000	—	143,441,000
1740 to 1748, war,		112,805,000	—	192,334,000
1749 to 1755, peace,		155,555,000	—	257,205,000
1756 to 1763, war,		133,775,000	—	210,899,000
1764 to 1776, peace,		165,164,000	—	309,245,000
1777 to 1783, war,		207,536,000	—	259,782,000
1784 to 1788, peace,		301,727,000	—	354,423,000

It will not be useless to contrast this with the trade of England.

	Imports. *L*		Exports *L*
1717,	6,346,768	—	9,147,700
1725,	7,094,708	—	11,352,480
1735,	8,160,184	—	13,544,144
1738,	7,438,960	—	12,289,495
1743,	7,802,353	—	14,623,653
1753,	8,625,029	—	14,264,614
1763,	11,665,036	—	16,160,181
1771,	12,821,995	—	17,161,146
1783,	13,122,235	—	15,450,778
1785,	16,279,419	—	16,770,228
1787,	17,804,000	—	16,869,000
1788,	18,027,000	—	17,471,000
1789,	17,821,000	—	19,340,000
1790,	19,130,000	—	20,120,000

As the *balance*, or ideas of a balance, are a good deal visionary, we shall find, by adding the two

* Monf. Arnould, of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris, asserts, I know not on what authority, that the English navigation in 1789 amounted to 2,000,000 tons.

columns

columns together, that the trade of England has ſuffered no decline, but, on the contrary, is greater than ever; it deſerves attention, however, that the progreſs of it has not been nearly ſo rapid as that of France, whoſe commerce, in the laſt period, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as it was in the firſt; whereas ours has in the ſame period not much more than doubled. The French trade has almoſt doubled ſince the peace of 1763, but ours has increaſed not near ſo much. Now it is obſervable, that the improvements, which in their aggregate mark national proſperity, have, in this period of twenty-nine years, been abundantly more active in England than in France, which affords a pretty ſtrong proof that thoſe improvements, and that proſperity, depend on ſomething elſe than foreign commerce; and as the force of this argument is drawn directly from facts, and not at all from theory or opinion, it ought to check that blind rage for commerce, which has done more miſchief to Europe, perhaps, than all other evils taken together. We find, that trade has made an immenſe progreſs in France; and it is elſewhere ſhewn, that agriculture has made little or none; on the contrary, agriculture has experienced a great increaſe in England, though very ſeldom favoured by government, but commerce an inferior one; unite this with the vaſt ſuperiority of the latter in national proſperity, and ſurely the leſſon afforded by ſuch facts needs no comment.

Of

Of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

I ſhall lay before the reader, the reſult of the treaty, both according to the Engliſh cuſtom-houſe, and alſo by the regiſters of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris; which, I ſhould however remark, is beyond all compariſon more accurate in its eſtimations; and whenever it is a queſtion between the authority of the two in oppoſition to each other, I ſhould not heſitate a moment in preferring the French authority; indeed it is certain, that in many articles the valuation attached to ſome denominations is as old as the reign of Charles II. though the real value is known to have quintupled.

Engliſh Account.

Export of Britiſh Manufactures to France.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1769, -	83,213	18	4	1784, -	93,763	7	1
1770, -	93,231	7	5	1785, -	244,807	19	5
1771, -	85,951	2	6	1786, -	343,707	11	10
1772, -	79,534	13	7	1787, -	713,446	14	11
1773, -	95,370	13	8	1788, -	884,100	7	1
1774, -	85,085	13	2	1789, -	830,377	17	0

The riſe in the years 1785 and 1786, may be attributed to the rage for every thing Engliſh, which, I believe, was then pretty much at its height; the moment the honour of the nation was ſecured by wiping off the diſgraces of the war

war of 1756, by the ſucceſs of the American one, the predilection for every thing Engliſh ſpread rapidly. In order to ſhew the proportion which our export of manufactures to France bears to our exports to all the world, I ſhall inſert the total account by the ſame authority.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1786,	11,830,194	19	7	1789,	13,779,740	18	9
1787,	12,053,900	3	5	1790,	14,921,000	0	0
1788,	12,724,719	16	9				

We know that all theſe ſums are incorrect; but we may ſuppoſe the incorrectneſs as great one year as another; and that therefore the compariſon of one year with another may be tolerable exact. The following French accounts have been taken with ſingular attention; and as duties have been levied on every article, the amount may be more, but cannot be leſs.

French Account.

Imports from England into France, in 1788.

	liv.
Woods, coal, and raw materials, of which coal near 6,000,000 liv.	16,553,400
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth.	2,246,500
Manufactured goods,	19,101,900
Manufactured goods from foreign induſtry,	7,700,900
Liquors (*boiſſons*),	271,000
Eatables (*comeſtibles*) ſuch as ſalt meat, butter cheeſe, corn, &c.	9,992,300
Drugs,	1,995,900
Groceries,	1,026,900
Cattle and horſes,	702,800
Tobacco,	843,100
Various articles,	187,200
Weſt India cotton, and Weſt India goods, none.	
	60,621,900

Exports from France to England, in 1788.

	liv.
Woods, coal, and raw materials,	534,100
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth,	635,200
Manufactured French Goods,	4,786,200
Manufactured goods from foreign industry,	2,015,100
Liquors,	13,492,200
Eatables,	2,215,400
Drugs,	759,100
Groceries, none,	
Cattle and horses,	181,700
Tobacco,	733,900
Various articles,	167,400
West India cotton,	4,297,300
West India goods,	641,100
	31,154,500

Explanation.——All manufactured goods, both English and foreign, imported by the English merchants, have been under-rated about one-twelfth, which will add 3,238,800 liv. The French exports must also be increased for smuggling, &c. &c.; so that there is great reason to think the real account between the two nations may be thus stated:

	liv.
Exports from England to France,	63,327,600
——— France to England,	33,847,470
Balance against France,	29,480,130

	liv.
Total exports of England to France in 1789,	58,000,000

Ditto of English manufactures in 1787, — 33,000,000
1788, — 27,000,000
1789, — 23,000,000

Hence if appears, that the two custom-houses do not differ essentially in their accounts.

I am

I am better ſatisfied with this account than if it were, as the Chamber of Commerce of Normandy imagined, much more in favour of England; for as the benefit is more likely to laſt, ſo the treaty is more likely to be renewed; and conſequently peace between the two kingdoms to be more durable. The balance of the manufacturing account does not exceed 14 millions, which is very far ſhort of the French ideas, and muſt, in the nature of things, leſſen. The 18 millions of raw materials and coals, inſtead of being an import hurtful to the intereſts of French induſtry, is beneficial to it; and they themſelves wiſely conſider it as ſuch, and lamented the old duties on the import of Engliſh coal, aſſerting that there ought to be none at all. Here are 10 millions of imports, and a balance of eight indirect objects of agriculture, as corn and meat. If a people will manage their agriculture in ſuch a prepoſterous manner, as not to be able to feed themſelves, they ſhould eſteem themſelves highly obliged to any neighbour that will do it for them. Raw materials, including drugs, with cattle, corn, and horſes, very nearly accounts for the whole balance, great as it is, that is paid on the total to England; and as ſuch objects are as much for the advantage of France to import, as for the benefit of England to export, the whole trade muſt, both in extent and balance, be deemed equally reciprocal, and of courſe equally tending to advance the proſperity of each kingdom. There is, however, a circumſtance in

which matters are very far from being reciprocal, and that is, in payments. The French are paid for their goods, whatever theſe may be, according to agreement; but that is very far from being the caſe with the Engliſh. The manufacturers of Mancheſter have been known to make heavy complaints againſt the mode of dealing in France, not only in reſpect of payment, but alſo of want of confidence, ſince their goods, fairly executed, according to patterns agreed on, are ſeldom received without diſpute or deduction: and while they cheerfully do juſtice to the punctuality of the Americans, Germans, &c. they put very little value on the French trade, ſpeaking in general. It is the ſame with Birmingham, whoſe merchants and manufacturers aſſert ſtrenuouſly, that the commercial treaty has been of *no* ſervice to their town; the French having taken as largely their goods, by contraband, before the treaty, as at preſent, through a different channel; with this change, that the Dutch, Germans, and Flemings, with whom they dealt before, paid better than the French. Theſe circumſtances are great deductions from the apparent merit of the treaty, which cannot be fairly eſtimated, unleſs we could know the amount of our exports ſent out clandeſtinely before it was concluded. The manufacturers are certainly the beſt judges; and they unite, with one voice, throughout the kingdom, either to condemn it, or at leaſt to aſſert its having been a mere *transfer* from one channel to another, and not an

increaſe,

increaſe. The benefit of it, however, as a political meaſure, which tends to eſtabliſh a friendſhip and connection between the two countries, cannot be called in queſtion, with any propriety; for the mere chance of its being productive of peace, is of more conſequence than ten ſuch balances, as appears on the foot of the above-mentioned account.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Manufactures of France.

THE notes I took, in all the conſiderable manufacturing towns of France, are too numerous to inſert. I ſhall touch, therefore, only upon one or two points, the moſt important

Earnings.

Average earnings in all the fabrics, of the men, 26*ſ.*—Of the women, 15*ſ.*—Of ſpinners, 9*ſ.*——Theſe earnings are, without any doubt, much under thoſe of ſimilar manufactures in England; where I ſhould apprehend the men earn, upon an average 20d. a-day or 40*ſ.*; the women 9d. or 18*ſ.* and ſpinners I have ſhewn (Annals of Agriculture, vol. ix.), to earn 6¼d.

or

or 12½*d.*——The vaſt ſuperiority of Engliſh manufactures, taken in the groſs to thoſe of France, united with this higher price of labour, is a ſubject of great political curioſity and importance; for it ſhews clearly, that it is not the nominal cheapneſs of labour that favours manufactures, which flouriſh moſt where labour is nominally the dearеſt—perhaps they flouriſh on this account, ſince labour is generally *in reality* the cheapeſt, where it is *nominally* the deareſt; the quality of the work, the ſkill and dexterity of performance come largely into the account; and theſe muſt, on an average, depend very much on the ſtate of eaſe in which the workman lives. If he be well nouriſhed and cloathed, and his conſtitution kept in a ſtate of vigour and activity, he will perform his work incomparably better than a man whoſe poverty allows but a ſcanty nouriſhment. There is doubtleſs great luxury amongſt the manufacturing poor in England; there is little amongſt thoſe of France; this apparent evil has grown ſo regularly with the proſperity of Engliſh fabrics, that I am not too ready to conſider it ſo great an evil, as to demand any laws or regulations to repreſs it, which have been injudiciouſly called for by ſome writers; inconveniencies, indeed, may flow from it, but they are ſo intimately connected with the ſources of proſperity, that to touch them might be dangerous: the hidden benefit is concealed ſometimes beneath the apparent evil; and by remedying the inconvenience, the advantage might be loſt. It is

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thus ſometimes in the natural body, and I believe often in the political.

It is a remarkable circumſtance in the agriculture, or rather in the domeſtic œconomy of France, that the culture of hemp or flax, for home uſes, pervades every part of the kingdom. It is a curious queſtion how far this is beneficial or not to the general intereſts of the national proſperity. On the one hand, in favour of this ſyſtem it may be urged, that national proſperity being nothing more than the united proſperity of ſingle families, if any ſuch article of œconomy be advantageous to individuals, it muſt be ſo to the nation at large: that it cannot fail of being beneficial to a poor man's family, to have the women and children induſtrionſly employed on cloathing the whole, rather than forced to buy ſuch articles at an expence of money, which they may not be able to procure.———By means of induſtry, thus exerted, a poor family is rendered as independent as its ſituation admits. All of them are likewiſe warmer, and more comfortably cloathed, as far as linen is concerned, than if it were bought; for whatever demands, money will be conſumed with much more caution than if the reſult merely of labour. Theſe arguments are unanſwerable; yet there are others, on the contrary, that alſo deſerve attention. If it be true, that national proſperity depends on individuals, and that whatever carries comfort into the cottage of the poor man, adds proportionably to the maſs of national enjoyment, it

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muſt alſo be equally admitted, that whatever renders a people nationally flouriſhing and rich, reflects back on the loweſt claſſes a large ſhare of, and intimate connection in ſuch wealth and proſperity; conſequently, if domeſtic manufactures of this ſort be injurious to the great maſs of national intereſts in a ſtate of combination, they muſt, in ſome meaſure, be individually ſo in a ſtate of ſeparation. A modern ſociety flouriſhes, by the mutual exchange of the products of land for the manufactures of towns; a natural connection of one with the other; and it may be remarked, that in proportion as this exchange is rapid from a great conſumption, in ſuch proportion will a people generally flouriſh. If every family in the country have a patch of flax or hemp for its own ſupply of all the manufactures founded on thoſe materials, this beneficial intercourſe of the country with the town is ſo far cut off, and no circulation takes place. If the practice be good in flax, it is good in wool; and every family ſhould have a ſufficient number of ſheep to cloath themſelves in woollens; and if every little village have its little tanner, the ſame ſuppoſition may be extended to leather. A patch of vines furniſhes the beverage of the family; and thus, by ſimple domeſtic induſtry, all wants are ſupplied; and a poor family, as it would be improperly called, would have no occaſion to reſort to market for any thing *to buy*. But if it go thither for nothing to buy, it ought to go thither with nothing *to ſell*; this part of the theory

ory is abſolutely neceſſary, for the town has the power of buying only in conſequence of having that of ſelling; if the country buy nothing of the town, aſſuredly the town can buy nothing of the country. Thus it is, that in every combination on theſe ſubjects, a minute diviſion of the ſoil into ſmall properties always attacks the exiſtence of towns, that is to ſay, of what Sir James Stewart calls the *free hands* of a ſociety. A countryman living on his own little property, with his family, induſtriouſly employed in manufacturing for all their own wants, without exchange, connection, or dependance on any one, offers, indeed, a ſpectacle of rural comfort; but of a ſpecies abſolutely inconſiſtent with the proſperity of a modern ſociety: and were France to conſiſt of nothing elſe, the whole kingdom would become the prey of the firſt invader. Upon ſuch a ſyſtem, all taxes muſt ceaſe, and conſequently all public force be annihilated. The whole routine of life would be as well carried on without, as with money; and he who has of neceſſity land and commodities only, could pay no taxes but in kind; in other words, could pay none at all. However plauſible, therefore, the arguments may be in favour of theſe domeſtic manufactures, there are not wanted reaſons that militate powerfully againſt them

In a caſe of this kind, a reference to fact is more valuable than reaſoning. The poor in France abound very much with theſe fabrics, and are very miſerable. The poor in England hardly know ſuch a thing, and are very much at their

caſe; but in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and ſome of our counties moſt backward in point of agriculture, the ſyſtem is found; and preciſely in the pooreſt diſtricts of the three kingdoms. It is with regret that I feel myſelf obliged to differ in opinion ſo often, on political ſubjects, from a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities as the count de Mirabeau; but upon this ſubject he gives an opinion deciſively in favour of theſe ſcattered domeſtic manufactures, advancing the following ſtrange aſſertion; "Les manufactures réunies, les enterprizes de quelques particuliers qui ſoldent des ouvriers au jour la journée pour travailler á leur compte ne feront jamais un objet digne de l'attention des gouvernements."* If there be truth in this idea, the fabrics eſtabliſhed in towns, in which a maſter manufacturer employs the poor, are good for nothing. Thoſe of Lyons, Rouen, Louviers, Elbœuf, Carcaſſonne; Mancheſter, Bermingham, Sheffield, &c. are of no account, and do not confer national proſperity. It would be waſting the reader's time to refute formally ſuch opinions. The facts are too notorious, and the arguments too obvious to dwell upon.

Of the Influence of Manufactures on Agriculture.

NORMANDY—*Rouen to Barentin.*—A noble ſoil and full of manufactures, but the moſt execrable huſbandry I have yet ſeen; every field a bed of weeds and couch.

* *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne*, tom. iii. p. 109.

Yvelot.

Yvetot.—A noble track of land; richer or deeper loams hardly to be ſeen, but all miſerably cultivated; an exception to the common caſe in France, where fine ſoils are uſually well cultivated: the crops in this country are a perfect contraſt to the ſoil.

Havre.—This whole country, from Rouen, the Pays de Caux, is a region more of manufactures than agriculture. The fabric is what the great population of this diſtrict depends on, their farms being but a ſecondary object. The number of ſmall properties, and conſequently population is very great, which is the reaſon for the price and rental of land through this country being vaſtly out of proportion to the products. Landlords alſo divide their farms according to the demand, as the riſe of rent tempts it; but he often finds himſelf depending for the rent of his land on the proſperity of a fabric. The whole country forms a curious ſpectacle; a vaſt fabric, and an immenſe employment, and population having been abſolutely miſchievous to agriculture. This has been the reſult throughout the Pays de Caux, the ſoil of which may be ranked among the fineſt in France. Had it been a miſerably poor, rocky, or barren territory, the reſult would have been beneficial, for the fabric would have covered ſuch a diſtrict with cultivation. But the farmers of the Pays de Caux are not only manufacturers, but have an inclination alſo for trade; the large ones engage in commercial ſpeculations at Havre, particularly in the cotton trade, and ſome even in that of the Weſt

Indies. This is a moſt pernicious and miſchievous circumſtance; the improvement of their cultivation being never the object or reſult of their growing rich, but merely the engaging more largely in trade or manufacture. If they get a ſhare in an American adventure, no matter whether thiſtles and docks cover their fields.

BRETAGNE—*St. Brieux.*—Meeting here with a linen merchant, and ſome other well-inſtructed perſons, I demanded information concerning the ſtate of huſbandry in the central parts of the province, and particularly the diſtricts in which the great linen manufacture (one of the moſt conſiderable in Europe) is carried on. All I had ſeen of the province was ſuch a wretched and almoſt deſerted waſte, that I ſuppoſed the other parts much better. I was informed, that the whole province was alike, except the biſhopric of St. Pol de Leon; that where the linen fabric was chiefly eſtabliſhed, there huſbandry was moſt neglected, from the people depending on their linen alone; that this ſtate of things could not be helped, as it was impoſſible to attend both to their fabric and their land, and the former being found of the moſt importance, the latter was left quite neglected; and that the *landes* in the linen parts of the province were enormous.

L'Orient. — Here, in converſation concerning the waſtes of Bretagne, I was again aſſured, that the *landes* were of very great extent in the linen country of Pontivy, Loudeac, Moncontour, and St. Quintin; and that what is cultivated is as rough

rough as any I have ſeen; for the weavers are amongſt the very worſt farmers in the province.

Auvergnac,—A perſon, intimately acquainted with every part of the province, informed me, that the linen fabric in Bretagne is almoſt always found amidſt bad agriculture, which he attributed to their always ſowing hemp or flax on their beſt lands, and neglecting corn; but where corn is found, as about this place, they depend on it, and are not equally ſolicitous for hemp and flax.

Elbœuf to Rouen.—A deſart.

M. l'Abbé Raynal remitted 1200 liv. to the Royal Society of Agriculture, at Paris, to be given as a prize on the ſubject of the following queſtion, *Une agriculture floriſante influe-telle plus ſur la proſpérité des manufactures, que l'accroiſſement des manufactures ſur la proſpérité, de l'agriculture?* How the writers, who contend for the prize, will decide the queſtion, I ſhall not inquire; but the facts, which I have here noted, ſeem to weigh materially towards enabling us to examine it. I take France to have poſſeſſed, from 1650 to 1750, the moſt flouriſhing manufactures in Europe: they were ſo conſiderable, and ſome of them remain yet ſo important, as to enable us to appeal merely to facts for an anſwer to ſuch a queſtion, ſo far as the example of that kingdom is concerned. That century of proſperous fabrics what did it effect for agriculture? I may very ſecurely reply, nothing. Whatever accounts I received of the compariſon between the former and

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the preſent ſtate of their cultivation, were in favour of the latter; yet, ſuppoſing it as good in 1750 as at preſent, I heſitate not to aſſert, that if ſuch immenſe fabrics, encouraged almoſt excluſively for a century, could create no better huſbandry than I met with in France, we may very ſafely conclude, that manufactures may flouriſh greatly, without ſhedding much influence in favour of agriculture. Such is the concluſion which forces itſelf upon one from the general view of the kingdom; but let us examine it more in detail.—The greateſt fabrics of France are the cottons and woollens of Normandy, the woollens of Picardy and Champagne, the linens of Bretagne, and the ſilks and hardware of the Lyonois. Now, if manufactures be the true encouragement of agriculture, the vicinity of thoſe great fabrics ought to be the beſt cultivated diſtricts in the kingdom. I have viſited all thoſe manufactures, and remarked the attendant culture, which is unexceptionably ſo execrable, that one would be much more inclined to think there was ſomething peſtiferous to agriculture in the neighbourhood of a manufacture, than to look up to it as a mean of encouragement. Conſidering the fertility of the ſoil, which is great, Picardy and Normandy are among the worſt cultivated countries I have ſeen. The immenſe fabrics of Abbeville and Amiens have not cauſed the incloſure of a ſingle field, or the baniſhment of fallows from a ſingle acre. Go from Elbœuf to Rouen, if you would view a deſart; and the Pays de Caux, poſſeſſing one of the richeſt ſoils in the

the world, with manufactures in every hut and cottage, preſents one continued ſcene of weeds, filth, and beggary; a ſoil ſo villainouſly managed, that if it were not naturally of an inexhauſtible fertility, it would long ago have been utterly ruined. The agriculture of Champagne is miſerable, even to a proverb; I ſaw there great and flouriſhing manufactures, and cultivation in ruins around them. Let us paſs into Bretagne, which affords but one ſpectacle, that of a dreary, deſolate waſte; ——*ſombre* as broom can make it.—— You find yourſelf in the midſt of one of the greateſt linen manufactures in Europe, and, throwing your eye around the country, can ſcarcely believe the inhabitants are fed by agriculture; if they ſubſiſted by the chaſe of wild animals, their country might be as well cultivated. From hence croſs the kingdom to Lyons; all the world knows the immenſe fabrics found there; and thoſe of St. Etienne among the moſt flouriſhing in the kingdom: *De toutes les provinces de France*, ſays M. Roland de la Platière, *le Lyonois eſt le plus miſerable* *.——What I ſaw of it gave me little reaſon to queſtion the aſſertion. The remark of another French writer makes the experiments double: *L' Artois eſt un des Provinces les plus riches du royaume. C' eſt un verité inconteſtable——elle ne poſſéde point de manufactures* †. I will not preſume to aſſert, that the agriculture of

* *Journal Phyſique.* tom. xxxvi. p. 342.

† *Memoire ſur cette queſtion, Eſt-il utile en Artois de diviſer les fermes, par M. Delgorgue.* 1786. p. 23.

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theſe diſtricts is bad, *becauſe* they abound with manufactures, though I believe it to be very much the caſe in the Pays de Caux; I merely ſtate the facts, which I clearly know, becauſe they came within my own eye; the fabrics are the greateſt in the kingdom, and certainly the agriculture is amongſt the worſt. In my tour through Ireland, the journal of which is before the public, I examined, with attention, the vaſt linen manufacture which ſpreads all over the north of that kingdom. I there found the ſame ſpectacle that Bretagne offers; huſbandry ſo miſerably, ſo contemptibly bad, that I have ſhewn, by calculation, the whole province converted into a ſheep-walk, and feeding but two ſheep per acre, would yield, in wool only, a greater value than the whole amount of the linen fabric ‡; a circumſtance I attribute entirely to the manufacture ſpreading into the country, inſtead of being confined to towns. *Wherever the linen manufacture ſpreads, there tillage is very bad*, ſaid that attentive obſerver the Lord Chief Baron Foſter §.——The Earl of Tyrone has an eſtate, in the county of Derry, amidſt manufactures, and another in that of Waterford, where there are none; and he aſſured me, that if the Derry land were in Waterford, or abſolutely freed from fabrics, he ſhould clear full one-third more money from it‖.——If we paſs into England, we ſhall find ſome-

‡ *A Tour in Ireland.* 2d. edit. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 304.

§ Ib. vol. i. p. 123.

‖ Ib. vol. i. p. 515.

thing

thing ſimilar, though not in an equal degree; the manufacturing parts of the kingdom being among the worſt cultivated. You muſt not go for agriculture to Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Warwickſhire, or Glouceſterſhire, which are full of fabrics, but to Kent, where there is not the trace of a fabric; to Berkſhire, Hertfortſhire, and Suffolk, where there are ſcarcely any: Norwich is an exception, being the only great manufacture in the kingdom in a thoroughly well cultivated diſtrict, which muſt very much be attributed to the fabric being kept remarkably within this city and ſpreading (ſpinning excepted), not much into the country; a circumſtance that deſerves attention, as it confirms ſtrong preceding obſervations. But the two counties of Kent and Lancaſter are expreſsly to the purpoſe, becauſe they form a double experiment; Lancaſter is the moſt manufacturing province in England, and amongſt the worſt cultivated: Kent has not the ſhadow of a manufacture, and is perhaps the beſt cultivated. Italy will furniſh inſtances, yet more to the purpoſe, than any yet cited. The richeſt, and moſt flouriſhing countries in Europe, in proportion to their extent, are probably Piedmont, and the Milaneſe. All the ſigns of proſperity are there met with; populouſneſs well employed and well ſupported; a great export without; a thriving conſumption within; magnificent roads; numerous and wealthy towns; circulation active; intereſt of money low; and the price of labour high. In a word, you can name no circumſtance that ſhall prove Mancheſter, Birmingham, Rouen,

and Lyons to be in a proſperous ſtate, that is not found diffuſed throughout the whole of theſe countries; to what is all this proſperity to be aſcribed? certainly not to manufactures, becauſe they poſſeſs hardly the trace of a fabric; there are a few, of no conſideration, at Milan; and there are in Piedmont the ſilk mills, to give the firſt hand to that product; but on the whole to an amount ſo very trifling, that both countries muſt be conſidered as *without* fabrics. They are equally without commerce, being excluded from the ſea; and though there is a navigable river that paſſes through both of theſe territories, yet no uſe is made of it, for there are five ſovereigns between Piedmont and its mouth, all of whom lay duties on the tranſit of every ſort of merchandize. As theſe two countries do not owe their riches to manufactures or commerce, ſo undoubtedly they are not indebted for them to any peculiar felicity in their governments; both are deſpotiſms; and the deſpot* of Milan makes that country a beaſt of burthen to Germany; the revenues are remitted to Vienna; and the cloaths, even for the troops paid by Milan, come from Germany. The origin and the ſupport of all the wealth of theſe countries, are to be found in AGRICULTURE ALONE, which is carried to ſuch perfection as to prove, that it is equal to the ſole ſupport

* The expreſſion has nothing too harſh, when applied to the late emperor, in whoſe reign I viewed the Milaneſe: it is not applicable to the wiſe and benignant Leopold, who has given ample grounds to induce a belief, that he will prove a bleſſing to every country that is happy enough to be governed by him.

of

of a modern and moſt flouriſhing ſociety; to keep that ſociety in a ſtate of great wealth; and to enable the governments to be, in proportion to their extent, doubly more powerful than either France or England. Piedmont ſupports a regal court, and pays 30,000 men. The ſame extent of country, or number of people, does not effect the half of this in any other dominion of Europe. But are theſe territories really without manufactures? no: nor is any country in the world; it is not poſſible to find a people totally exempt from them. The preſent inquiry demands no ſuch exemption: it is only neceſſary to ſhew, that the manufactures found in the Milaneſe and in Piedmont, are ſuch as raiſe abſolutely in conſequence of agriculture; that it is agriculture which ſupports and nouriſhes them; and that, on the contrary, theſe manufactures are ſo far from doing any thing politically for agriculture, that they occaſion the expoſing of it to reſtrictions and monopolies; for the government in theſe countries have been bitten by the ſame madneſs of commerce that has infeſted other kingdoms; and have attempted, by ſuch means, to raiſe theſe trifling fabrics into foreign export. Happily they have never been able to do it; for there is reaſon to imagine, that ſucceſs would have ſuggeſted other reſtrictions unfavourable to the great foundation of all their proſperity. Thus the inſtances produced are expreſs to the purpoſe, as they exhibit two opulent ſtates, ſupported by agriculture alone, and poſſeſſing no other manufactures or commerce, than what every country muſt poſſeſs

that enjoys a flouriſhing cultivation; for it is not to be expected, that ſuch great reſults are to be found attending common exertions only. On the contrary, thoſe that have converted part of theſe noble territories into a garden, have been great and exemplary. The canals, for mere irrigation, are greater works than many in England, for the purpoſes of navigation; and the infinite attention that is given to the perpetual deviation of the waters, is a ſpectacle of equal merit and curioſity. Hence the following facts cannot be controverted:

I. That the agriculture of France, after a century of excluſive and ſucceſsful attention to manufactures, was in a wretched ſtate.

II. That the manufacturing diſtricts in France and England are the worſt cultivated.

III. That the beſt cultivation in England, and ſome of the beſt in France, muſt be looked for where no manufactures are to be found.

IV. That when the fabrics ſpread into all the cottages of a country, as in France and Ireland, ſuch a circumſtance is abſolutely deſtructive of agriculture: ſpinning only excepted, which is almoſt univerſal in every country.

V. That agriculture alone, when thoroughly improved, is equal to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of great national wealth, power, and felicity.

And from theſe facts, the following corollaries are clearly deducible:

I. That the beſt method of improving agriculture, is not by eſtabliſhing manufactures and commerce,

merce, becauſe they may be eſtabliſhed in great extent and perfection, and yet agriculture may remain in a miſerable ſtate.

II. That the eſtabliſhment of a flouriſhing agriculture, inevitably occaſions the poſſeſſion of ſuch manufactures and commerce, as are equal to the ſupport of numerous and flouriſhing towns; and to whatever is neceſſary to form a great and potent ſociety. The leſſon to governments is deducible in few words: firſt, ſecure proſperity to agriculture, by equal taxation*, and by abſolute liberty † of cultivation and ſale ‡. Secondly; do no more to encourage manufactures and commerce, than by letting them alone, a policy excluſive of every idea of monopoly. We may ſafely affirm, and our aſſertions are founded on unqueſtionable facts, that any county will attain the utmoſt proſperity of which its government is capable, that ſteadily purſue this conduct.

* There is no equality, but in thoſe on conſumption, and tythes abſolutely incompatible.

† Liberty of cultivation, implies an unlimited power of incloſure: the privilege of cultivating any plant the farmer pleaſes, without ſhackle or reſtraint.

‡ An unbounded freedom of export.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Taxation of France.

THE difficulty of underſtanding the details of the finances of France, induced me to attempt diſentangling their confuſion, by reducing them to ſuch heads as are common in our own revenue. The particulars indeed are too long to inſert, but the ſubject of taxation is of too much importance to be paſſed over abſolutely in ſilence.

Taxes on Land under the old Government.

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Vingtiemes, -	55,565,264 liv.	£. 2,430,980
Taille, -	81,000,000	3,543,750
Local impoſitions,	1,800,000	78,750
Capitation -	22,000,000	962,500
Decimes, -	10,600,000	463,750
Sundries, -	600,000	26,250
	171,565,264	7,505,980

The calculation of the committe of impoſition ||, in the National Aſſembly, is this,

Vingtiemes, -	55,565,264 liv.
Decimes, -	10,000,000
Other impoſitions,	23,844,016
Taille, -	73,816,179
Capitation, -	6,133,274
Tythes,	11,000,000
Half the *gabelle*, -	30,000,000
Half the exciſe on leather,	4,500,000
	314,059,724 Or £.13,740,112 ſter.

|| *Rapport du Comité de l' Impoſition. Pieces Juſt.* No. 1.

It

It is ſufficiently evident, that this is an inflamed account in ſeveral articles, as the committee had ſome deſign in view. Upon the principles of the œconomiſtes, they propoſed a land-tax of three hundred millions for the ſervice of the year 1791; and that propoſition was made under the aſſertion that the nation paid a greater land-tax under the old government. The reaſoning however is erroneous; and to direct 110,000,000, the amount of tythes (which the Aſſembly had expreſsly aboliſhed without condition), to be made good by a land-tax, is an oppreſſion for no better reaſon than its having exiſted before: to bring ſalt and leather into the account is another exaggeration; why not include the duties on wine, by parity of reaſoning? A farmer who has no vineyard of his own muſt buy it, and he cannot buy without paying *aides*; but are thoſe taxes therefore to be reckoned? Certainly not; nor any others on conſumption, which are clearly in a different claſs, and not to be included in ſuch a detail.

Taxes on Conſumption.

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Salt, -	58,560,000 liv.	£. 2,562,000
Wine and brandy, &c.	56,250,181	2,460,444
Tobacco, -	27,000,000	1,181,205
Leather, -	5,850,068	255,937
Paper and cards, -	1,081,569	47,315
Starch and Powder, -	758,049	33,164
Iron, - - -	980,000	42,875
Oil, - -	763,000	33,381
Glaſs, - -	150,000	6,562
Soap, - -	838,971	36,704
Carry forward,	152,231,718	6,659,587

Linen

	French Money.	English Money.
Brought forward,	152,231,718	6,659,587
Linen and Stuffs, -	150,000	6,562
Octrois, Entrées, &c.	57,591,552	2,518,317
Cattle -	630,000	27,562
Cuſtoms, -	23,440,000	1,025,500
Tolls, -	5,000,000	218,750
Stamps, -	20,244,473	885,695
Local duties, -	1,133,162	49,575
	260,390,905	11,391,548

It merits the readers attention, that of this long liſt nothing is retained under the new government but the cuſtoms and ſtamps.

General Revenue.

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Taxes on land, -	171,565,264 liv.	£. 7,505980
Domaines, -	9,900,000	433,125
Conſumption, -	260,390,905	11,391,548
Perſonal, -	44,240,000	1,935,500
Monopolies, -	28,513,774	1,247,496
Sundries, including the Pays d'Etat,	12,580,000	550,375
Taxes not received on account of government,	95,900,000	4,195,625
	622,999,943	27,259,649
Collection, -	57,665,000	2,522,843
Total,	680,664,943	29,782,492

Such was the revenue, at the entire command of Louis XVI. And ſuch were the conſequences of the funding ſyſtem, that it had power to ſtrike a palſy into the receipt of ſo enormous an income, even in the hands of the maſter of 250,000 bayonets, and twenty-five millions of ſubjects. Sovereigns ought to contemplate theſe effects of that

PUBLIC

PUBLIC CREDIT; upon which the banking, money-changing, and ſtock-broking writers, with Necker at their head, have delivered ſuch panegyrics! A ſyſtem that never entered a country, but to deſtroy or to annihilate proſperity: it has ſpread ruin or debility in Spain, Holland, Genoa, Venice, and France: it threatens ſpeedily the extinction of the power, and the overthrow of the conſtitution of England: it has weakened, and almoſt deſtroyed Europe, except one country, ſaved by the ſplendid talents of a ſingle ſovereign. It is impoſſible to contemplate ſuch a revenue and population, united with variety of natural advantages poſſeſſed by France, without bleſſing the goodneſs of providence, that a prince like Frederic II. did not fill the throne of Louis XV. Such a penetrating mind would have ſeen, in perſpective, the miſchiefs of public credit in France as clearly as he did in Pruſſia; he would have ſtrangled the monſter for ever, and would have thereby eſtabliſhed a power irreſiſtible by all his neighbours; and the nations of Europe would have lain in ruin around him.

Changes in the Revenue, occaſioned by the Revolution.

The general ſtatement, by the firſt miniſter of the finances, from the firſt May 1789 to April 30, 1790, compared with the receipt for 1788, will give the deſcication that has taken place, and the additions that are carried to account.

	1789.	1790.
1, Fermes générales,	150,107,000 liv.	126,895,086 liv.
2, Régie générale des aides,	50,220,000	31,501,988
3, Regie des domaines,	50,000,000	49,644,573
4, Ferme des postes,	12,000,000	10,978,754
5, Ferme des meslageries,	1,100,000	661,162
6, Ferme de Sceau & Poissy,	630,000	780,000
7, Ferme des affinages,	120,000	—
8, Abonnement de la Flandre,	8,300	822,219
9, Loterie,	14,000,000	12,710,855
10, Revenus casuels,	3,000,000	1,157,447
11, Marc d'or,	1,500,000	760,889
12, Salt Petre,	600,000	303,184
13, Recette général,	157,035,890	27,238,524
14, Pays d'Etats,	24,556,000	23,848,261
15, Capitations & vingtièmes abonnées,	575,000	1,213,505
16, Impositions aux fortifications,	575,000	676,399
17, Benefice des monnoies,	500,000	824,301
18, Droits, attribués a la caisse du commerce,	636,355	305,418
19, Forges royales,	80,000	401,702
20, Interets, l'Amerique,	1,600,000	—
21, Debets des comptables,	—	2,291,860
22, Parties non reclamées a l'hotel de Ville,	—	240,262
23, Petits recouvremens,	—	—
24, Quinze vingt,	180,000	257,000
	470,038,245	293,493,389
25, Plate carried to the mint,		14,256,040
26, Dons patriotiques,		361,587
27, Contribution patriotique*,		9,721,085
		317,832,101

The vast defalcation is, therefore, 176,544,856 liv. (7,723,837l.) the sum which 1790 falls short of 1789.

* It deserves attention, that this *contribution patriotique* is mentioned as a resource of 35,000,000 liv. for the year 1791, by the committee of imposition. *Rapport 6 Decembre*, 1790, *sur les moyens de pourvoir aux dépenses pour* 1791, p. 5.

1791.—The Committee of Impoſts have calculated the ſums wanted for the year 1791, and they propoſed to raiſe them in the following manner †;

Land-tax (*contribution fonciere*),	287,000,000 liv.	
Tax on perſonal property (*contribution mobiliare*),	60,000,000	
Stampts (*droit d' enregiſtrement*),	50,246,478	
Other ſtamps,	20,764,800	
Patents (ſtamps),	20,182,000	
Lotteries,	10,000,000	
Cuſtoms,	20,700,000	
Powder, ſaltpetre, marc d' or, and affinages	1,000,000	
Mortgages,	5,375,000	
Poſt and ſtage coaches,	12,000,000	
Contribution patriotique,	34,562,000	
Domaines,	15,000,000	
Salt works,	3,000,000	
Intereſt from Americans, &c.	4,000,000	
Sale of ſalt and tobacco in the warehouſes of the farmers general,	29,169,462	
	573,000,000	Or, £. 25,068,750

It appears, by the *Memoires préſentés a l'Aſſemblée Nationale au nom du Com. des Finances, par M. de Monteſquiou*, September 9, 1791, 4to. that the revenue in 1790 produced only 253,091,000 liv. which was was made up by anticipations and aſſignats.

† *Rapport fait le 6 Decembre*, 1790. 8vo. p. 6. *Rapport fait le 19 February*, 1791. 8vo. p. 7.

Intereſt of Debts.

Amount of the debt, according to the lateſt ſtatements. The following is the account of the committee of finances:

		Capitals.	Intereſt.
Rentes viageres (life annuities),		1,018,233,460 liv.	101,823,846 liv.
Rentes perpetuelles— *Rentes conſtituees*,		94,912,340	4,745,617
Rentes payees a l'hotel de ville,		2,422,987,301	52,735,856
Dettes liquidees,		12,351,643	544,114
Gages & traitemens,		2,603,210	93,645
Communautes,	-	3,066,240	153,312
Indemnites,	-	27,306,840	1,365,342
Emprunts, Pays d'Etats,		126,964,734	6,276,087
		3,708,430,768 *	167,737,819
Dettes exigible †		1,878,816,534	92,133,239
		5,587,247,302 ‡	259,871,058
Or ſterling.		£. 244,442,099	£. 11,369,357

Aſſignats to the amount of 400,000,000 had then been iſſued; but the committee does not include them in the preceding account.

The

* The committee ſtate, that this debt, by leaving the annuites to extinguiſh themſelves, and by buying in the perpetual funds, at twenty years purchaſe, the whole would be extinguiſhed with the ſum of 1,321,191,817 liv. *Etat de la dette Publique*, 4to. 1790. p. 8.

† Monſ. de Monteſquiou, in the memoire preſented September 9, 1791, makes the *dette exigible* amount to 2,300,000,000 liv. p. 58. He makes the whole debt 3,400,000,000 liv. to which add 1,800,000,000 of aſſignats, and this is 5,200,000,000 liv.; but 215,000,000 liv. of aſſignats have been burnt. p. 46.

‡ I have read Monſ. Arnould (*De la balance du Commerce*, 1791), who makes the debt 4,152,000,000 liv.; but not

giving

The *Apperçu des Recettes & Dépenſes de l' Année*, 1791, by the finance miniſter, M. Dufreſne, gives the account of the expences neceſſary to be incurred in 1791, according to the decrees of the aſſembly, and they are as follows:

To the eccleſiaſtics, for the expence of public worſhip	-	70,000,000liv
Penſions to the religious of the convents and monaſteries ſuppreſſed,	-	70,000,000
Juſtice,	-	12,000,000
Directories of department and diſtricts,	-	9,360,000
Civil liſt, penſions, ſalaries, bureaus, academies, &c.		67,041,363
All other payments, of which intereſt of debts,	192,265,000	
Paris,	- 9,323,800	
War department and marine,	134,432	
		360,770,500
		589,172,000 Or, £. 25,776,274

By the *Memoire ſur les Finances préſentés*, 9th September, 1791, 4to, ſome points receive more light than in any preceding account. It appears, that the national eſtates ſold have produced 964,733,114 liv.; this is a curious fact; but the *idea*, that the remainder will produce enough to make this ſum up 3,500,090,000liv. is by no means certain; indeed, it is of a complexion too dubious to be ad-

giving his authorities ſatisfactorily, I muſt adhere to the above-mentioned ſtatement.

mitted;

mitted; and of thoſe actually ſold, the receipt only to the amount of 735,054,754 liv. is poſitively aſcertained: and this vaſt ſum, in the whole probably not leſs than 40 millions ſterling, muſt, without doubt, contribute very greatly, even beyond all calculation, to give ſecurity to the new government, as it intereſts the moſt cloſely an immenſe number of perſons, with all their connections and dependencies, to ſupport that ſyſtem, by which alone this great property can be rendered ſafe. If to this be added the whole *tiers etat* of the kingdom, that is 90 in 100 of the total, it muſt be apparent, that the hopes of a counter-revolution muſt reſt on external force, inadequate to the conqueſt of ſuch a kingdom as France, unleſs all poſſible advantages towards favouring the attempt be united and aided by a well connected inſurrection of thoſe who are diſcontented.

Of the Funding Syſtem.

It appears, from the preceding accounts, that France, under the old government, purſued the ruinous ſyſtem of mortgaging its revenues, as regularly as any other country, whoſe greater freedom might be ſuppoſed to offer more temptations to the practice. This ſyſtem, however, almoſt unaided by any other cauſe, has overturned that government, by means of the moſt extraordinary revolution upon record. If Lewis XIV. amidſt the ſplendour of his reign and career of his conqueſts, could poſſibly have foreſeen, that the ſecond

cond ſovereign in deſcent from him would be led captive by his ſubjects, on account of the debts he was then contracting, he would either have rejected with horror the ſyſtem he adopted, or have manifeſted the moſt entire want of thoſe feelings which ought to dwell in the breaſt of a great and ambitious monarch. But, after this memorable example to other countries, it remains a ſubject of infinite curioſity, to ſee how far the infatuated and blind ſpirit of funding will now be purſued. Every hour, after the great event in France, will make it more and more critical, and will inevitably involve in its train new revolutions, perhaps of a complexion more dangerous to eſtabliſhed families, than any thing we have ſeen in France.—If peace is preſerved in that kingdom, the debt will extinguiſh itſelf, being in a great proportion annuities for lives; but were not this the caſe, and ſhould new wars add to the national burthens, the people, almoſt emancipated as they have been from taxation, will be brought back to it with great difficulty; and other aſſemblies, feeling their power beter eſtabliſhed, will not pay the ſame attention to the public creditors which the preſent has done: and the event might be ſimilar to what will inevitably happen in England. No government will ever think of committing a deliberate act of bankruptcy; but when taxes are puſhed to ſuch a height that the people will no longer pay them, they are ripe for ſedition; preſently feel their own power;——and the event which follows,

follows, may be eaſily conjectured. What is the concluſion that follows?———That the funding ſyſtem, or rather the wars which occaſion it, are ſo fatal and peſtilential, that, at all events, they ought to be avoided; but that, if unhappily they cannot, they ſhould be ſupported by annual taxes (never by loans), which implies a war of defence *at home*; a renunciation of all exterior dominion; and the abſolute annihilation of that commercial ſyſtem of policy on which conqueſts, colonies, and debts have been ſo fatally erected.

Of the Amount of Specie in France.

The writings of Monſ. Necker will aſſiſt us in the regiſter of the French mint, which proves ſatisfactorily the quantity of money coined in France; it muſt, however, be ſufficiently obvious, that from this quantity it is mere conjecture to attempt to aſcertain, at any period, the actual quantity of ſpecie remaining in the kingdom.

Coined in France from 1726 to 1780.—Gold -	957,200,000 liv.
Silver,	1,489,500,000
	2,446,700,000
In 1781, 82, and 83,	52,300,000
	2,500,000,000
An exiſting in 1784,	2,200,000,000

And he makes the increaſe of ſpecie, in 15 years, from 1763 to 1777, in France, equal to the increaſe in all the reſt of Europe. From the inquiries of M. Claviere

Claviére * and M. Arnould †, it appears, that the gold and ſilver currency of France, at the aſſembly of the States, was two milliards (87,500,000l.) Whatever authority Monſ. Necker placed in the ſuppoſed balance of the French trade, of above three millions ſterling per annum, was aſſumed on very inſufficient grounds. The marquis de Caſſaux has proved the facts, which Monſ. Necker deduced from that balance, to have never exiſted but in his own imagination ‡. The importance alſo, which, in the 10th chapter of the ſame book, that writer aſſigns to the poſſeſſion of great quantities of gold and ſilver; the political conduct he expreſsly recommends to procure thoſe metals, as ſelling much merchandize to other nations, and buying little; ſtudying to effect this by ſhackling trade with duties upon export and import; and by the acquiſition of colonies; the whole of this ſyſtem betrays no inconſiderable degree of littleneſs; it is worthy of the counting-houſe alone; and manifeſts none of the views of a great ſtateſman, nor even the abilities of an able politician: one is ſure to meet, in Monſ. Necker's productions, with an eloquent diſplay of narrow ideas, and never the great reach of real talents, nor the maſterly views of deciſive genius. His miniſtry, and his publications, ſhew the equable orderly arrange-

* *Opinion d' un créancier de l' Etat.*

† *De la Bal. du Com.* tom. ii. p. 206.

‡ Monſ. de Calonne's recoinage, of 1785, has proved, that Monſ. Necker, even upon a ſubject more peculiarly his own, as a banker, is not ſo correct as one would imagine, when he

ment of a mind well regulated for little purſuits; but loſt, amidſt the great events of a new ſyſtem, burſting into efficiency amidſt the whirlwind of a revolution.

The total currency, of both gold and ſilver in Great Britain, may probably not be leſs than 40 millions ſterling. But no compariſon can be made between the two kingdoms, becauſe the great maſs of England's circulating currency is in paper; whereas, in France, all, or nearly all, was in coin, till aſſignats were iſſued, it is probably a juſt obſervation of Mr. Hume, that the circulation of paper tends ſtrongly to baniſh coin. Every kingdom muſt have, proportioned to its induſtry, a circulation of ſomething; and if it have no paper, that circulation, ſo proportioned to its induſtry, will be in coin; the creation of ſo much paper ſupplies the place of it; and conſequently keeps it from flowing into any country, where it is demanded by the offer of valuable equivalents. But, on the other hand, it has been urged, that paper, ſupplying the circulation as well and more conveniently than the metals, allows the latter to be ſent profitably out of the kingdom, not to be loſt, but beneficially as merchandize, and that an annual benefit is made by this, as well as by all other trades. If this argument be good, and in all

he ventures either to calculate or to conjecture. It is with difficulty he allows 300 millions for the export and melting of louis', which appear to have been 650,000,000 liv. He ſtates the gold coinage (including the ſilver of the years 1781, 82, and 83,), at 1,009,500,000 liv. inſtead of which, it was, by Monſ. de Calonne's account, 1,300,000,000 liv.

probabi-

probability there is ſome truth in it, France, by keeping ſo enormous a capital at home as 90 millions ſterling, to anſwer purpoſes which, in England, are fulfilled with leſs than half, by means of paper, loſes the profit which might be made on 45 millions, were that ſum employed as it is employed in England. There is yet another explanation of the great paper currency of England, which has alſo much truth in it, and eſpecially in the preſent moment. It may be ſaid, that paper has been ſo largely coined in England, becauſe the balance of its tranſactions with foreigners has not brought in the metals as faſt as its induſtry, has demanded a circulating repreſentative; its induſtry has increaſed faſter than its money; and I believe this to have been very much the caſe ſince the American war, in which period the progreſs of proſperity, in this kingdom, has been of an unexampled rapidity. In ſuch a circumſtance, the circulation of paper, inſtead of leſſening the quantity of ſpecie, will increaſe it, by facilitating the operations of commerce. Another evil of a worſe tendency, perhaps, is the diſpoſition to hoard, when the currency is all in the precious metals. Monſ. Necker ſtates, as an undoubted fact, that vaſt ſums of gold are hoarded in France; and circumſtances came to light on Monſ. de Calonne's recoinage, which proved the ſame fact. The ordinary circulation of Paris, does not exceed from 80 to 100,000,000 liv. as we learn from the

ſame miniſter *; a fact which alſo unites with the immenſity of the total ſpecie of France, to ſhew that perhaps the great maſs of it is hoarded. It muſt be ſufficiently obvious, that this practice depends much on a want of confidence in the government, and on the erroneous conduct of not encouraging inveſtments in the national induſtry: but it tends ſtrongly to give France a greater maſs of the precious metals than is demanded by her induſtry.

Two conſiderable proofs exiſt in Europe, that a country will always attract ſuch a ſhare of the precious metals as is proportioned to its induſtry, if not prevented by circulating paper. Theſe are Pruſſia and Modena. The king of Pruſſia's treaſure, calculated as it is at 15 millions ſterling, is thrice as much as the whole circulating ſpecie of his dominions. In all probability, had that treaſure not been withdrawn from circulation, the ſpecie would not at this moment have been one dollar greater than it is at preſent; and for this plain reaſon, that there appears no want of currency in thoſe dominions; the degree of induſtry there demanding ſpecie from all its neighbours, has acquired it as faſt as the King has accumulated his treaſure, but had no treaſure been formed, the ſame demand would not have taken place, and conſequently no ſuch influx of money. Modena, as I once before obſerved, in proportion to its

* *De l'Etat de la France*, p. 80.

extent

extent and riches, affords a ſimilar inſtance; yet the duke's hoard is ſuppoſed, on pretty good grounds, to exceed very much all the circulating ſpecie of his duchy; and I made particular inquiries at Modena, whether a want of it were perceptible? I was aſſured of the contrary, and that their currency was fully equal to the demands of their induſtry and money-exchanges. From theſe inſtances, we may, without heſitation, pronounce, that the ſpecie of England is kept vaſtly below its natural meaſure, by the immenſity of our paper circulation. There is little importance in poſſeſſing great quantities of ſpecie, if not in a national hoard: the caſe of England nearly permits us to queſtion it altogether. For neither in the domeſtic circulation, nor in foreign tranſactions, has France been able to effect any thing by means of her money, which we have not been able to command equally well, perhaps better, with our paper. A wiſe government ſhould therefore be ſolicitous for the induſtrious and productive employment of her people; if ſhe ſecure that eſſential point, ſhe may ſafely leave the metals to find their own level, without paying any regard whether her circulation be in paper or in gold. Nor is there danger of paper being too much multiplied, as long as the acceptance of it is voluntary; for it would not be multiplied, if it were not demanded; and if it be demanded, it ought to be multiplied. With paper, forced by government on the people, the caſe is far different: from the circumſtances of its being *forced*, there is the

cleareſt proof that it is not *demanded*, and conſequently ought not to be iſſued: force, in ſuch a caſe, is fraud; and a public fraud ought never to be practiſed, but in the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The aſſignats iſſued by the National Aſſembly, are of this complexion; the ſtep, however dangerous, might poſſibly be neceſſary to ſecure the new conſtitution; but I ſhall not heſitate a moment in declaring, that an avowed bankruptcy would, in other reſpects, have been a much wiſer meaſure, and attended probably with fewer and leſs evils.—Of thirty-four commercial cities, that preſented addreſſes upon the project of aſſignats, ſeven only were for them *. The ſcheme met with equal oppoſition from rank †, literature ‡. and commerce ‖. The prognoſtics, however, of an enormous diſcount, were not verified ſo much as might have been expected.—M. Decretot, in September 1790, mentions them with 400 millions only in circulation, being at 10 per cent. diſcount at Bourdeaux; and M. de Condorcet 6 per cent. at Paris; thence they both concluded, that the diſcount would be enormous, if a greater iſſue of them took place; yet, in May 1791, after many hundred millions more had been iſſued, they were

* *De l' Etat de la France*, par. M. de Calonne. 8vo. 1790. p. 82.

† *Opinion de M. de la Rochefoucauld, ſur l'Aſſignats monnoie.* 8vo.

‡ *Sur la Propoſition d'acquitter les dettes en Aſſignats*, par M. Condorcet. 8vo. p. 14.

‖ *Opinion de M. Decretot ſur l'Aſſignats.* 8vo. p. 8.

only

only at from 7 to 10 per cent. diſcount §. And another circumſtance, equally miſtaken, was the expectation of an enormous riſe of all common prices———which did not happen, for corn rather fell in its value; a remarkable experiment, that deſerves to be remembered. The Marquis de Condorcet ſuppoſed, that wheat would riſe from 24 to 36 liv. the ſeptier, perhaps in one day*. The aſſignats amounted, on the diſſolution of the firſt aſſembly, to 1,800,000,000 liv.

What conſtitutes the Merit of a Tax.

Many writings have appeared of late in France, on the ſubject of taxation, and many ſpeeches have been delivered in the National Aſſembly concerning the principles that ought to govern the ſtateſmen, who poſſeſs the power of deciding in queſtions of ſuch importance. It is much to be regretted, that the members, who have made the greateſt figure in that aſſembly, have, in theſe inquiries, rather adopted the opinions of a certain claſs of philoſophers, who made a conſiderable noiſe in France 20 or 30 years ago, than taken the pains ſeriouſly to inform themſelves well of the facts that ought to be examined upon the ſubject. It is not for a traveller to go to the bottom of ſuch intricate inquiries, which would demand long de-

§ It became greater ſince; but owing to foreign cauſes.

* *Sur la Propoſition d' acquiéter les dettes en Aſſignats*, par M. Condorcet, p. 21.

tails,

tails, and a very minute examination; but the queſtion is, in the preſent moment, of ſuch importance to France, that a rapid *coup d' œil*, cannot but have its uſe. The following circumſtances, are thoſe which I conceive from all the merit of taxation:

1. Equality.
2. Facility of payment.
3. Encouragement of induſtry.
4. Eaſe of collection.
5. Difficulty of two great extenſion.

The firſt eſſential point is equality. It is abſolutely neceſſary, that every individual in the ſociety contribute to the wants of the ſtate, in proportion to his ability, provided ſuch contribution does not impede the progreſs of his induſtry †. Every writer, and every opinion upon the ſubject agree in this; but the difficulty is, how to aſcertain the ability. Taxes on property, and taxes on conſumption, ſeem to have this merit; they will, however, be found to vary prodigiouſly; for long

† Some little obſcurity, that hangs over this definition, ſhould be removed; by *ability*, muſt not be underſtood either capital or income but that ſuperlucration, as Davenant called it, which melts in conſumption: ſuppoſe a manufacturer makes a profit of 2000l. a-year, *living* upon 500l. and annually inveſting 1500l. in his buſineſs, it is ſufficiently obvious, upon juſt principles, that the ſtate cannot lay the 1500l. under contribution by taxes. The 500l. is the only income expoſed; but when the manufacturer dies, and his ſon turns gentleman,

long experience, in all countries, has proved the infinite difficulty of aſcertaining property, and the tyranny that is neceſſary to be practiſed, in order to be tolerably exact. For this reaſon, all land-taxes, under an appearance of equality, are cruelly unequal; if levied on the groſs produce *in kind*, they are ten times heavier on poor land than on rich; and the value taken by the ſtate, bears no proportion to the expence which effected the production. If levied on the rent, the eaſe of frauds makes them univerſal and perpetual; and if, to avoid theſe, the leaſes are regiſtered and taxed, this prevents leaſes, and deſtroys agriculture. If lands are valued by a *cadaſtre*, the expence is enormous *, and the merit is gone in a few years, by variations impoſſible to correct; till at laſt the only

gentleman, the whole income is made to contribute. It muſt be obvious, however, that exciſes on a manufacturer's fabric are not taxes *on him*, but on the idle conſumer, for he draws them completely back. In like manner, if a landlord farm his own eſtate, and expend the income in improvements, living on but a ſmall portion of the profit, it is ſufficiently clear, that taxes ought not to affect one ſhilling of his expenditure on his land; they can reach, with propriety, the expences of his living only; if they touch which [illegible] of his expenditure, they deprive him of thoſe tools [illegible] working the buſineſs of the ſtate. A man paying, therefore, *according to his ability*, muſt be underſtood in a reſtrained ſenſe. The prepoſterous nature of land-taxes is ſeen in this diſtinction, that an idle worthleſs diſſipator is taxed exactly in the ſame degree as his induſtrious neighbour, who is converting a deſert into a garden.

* Yet the nobility of Lyons and Artois, and the tiers of Troyes, demand a general *cadaſtre* of all France, *Cahier*, p. 17

only merit of the tax is its *inequality*, which is now the caſe in the Milaneſe, Piedmont, Savoy, and England: where an attempt to make the land-taxes equal would ruin the huſbandry, and produce infinite oppreſſion. Land taxes, ſo far from being equal, are ſo much the reverſe, that it is the *nominal*, and not the *real* property, that bears the tax; for mortgages eſcape though amounting to three-fourths of the property; and if, to avoid this cruelty, the proprietor be allowed, as in the caſe of the *vingtiemes* in France, to tax the mortgagee, either the regulation is evaded by pravate agreements, or money is no longer lent for the moſt uſeful of all purpoſe. Laſtly, land is viſible, and cannot be concealed; whereas fortunes in money are inviſible, and will ever ſlip away from taxation of every kind, except from thoſe on conſumption. Thus land taxes, viewed in what light ſoever, are totally unequal, oppreſſive, and ruinous. On the contrary, taxes upon conſumption are, of

p. 17.—*Artois.* p. 18.—*Troyes*, p. 7.—The committee of impoſition recommends one alſo, *Rapport*, p. 8.—To make the *cadaſtre* of Limoſin coſt 2,592,000 liv. (113,355l. 15s.) and the whole kingdom would coſt, at the ſame rate, 82,944,000 [illegible]628,800l.) requiring the employment of 3072 engineers during 18 years, *Eſſai d' un Methode générale a etendre les connoiſſances des Voyageurs, par Monſ. Meunier.* 1790. 8vo. tom. i. p. 199.—The King of Sardinia's *cadaſtre* is ſaid to have coſt 8*ſ.* the arpent, *Adminiſtration Prov. Le Trône.* tom. ii. p. 236. The *cahiers* demand a *cadaſtre* in the language of the *œconomiſtes*, as if it were to be done as ſoon as imagined, and to coſt only a trifle: and this operation, which would take eighteen years to execute, is adviſed by M. le Trône to be repeated every nine!

all

all others, the moſt equal, and the moſt fair; for they are ſtudiouſly and correctly proportioned to the quantity of every man's conſumption *, which may with truth generally be ſuppoſed to be commenſurate to his income; at leaſt it may be aſſerted ſafely, that there is no other method, equally ſure of eſtimating income, as by that of conſumption. There are, it is true, miſers who poſſeſs much, and conſume little; but it is utterly impoſſible to reach ſuch men in taxation, without tyranny: nor is it of much conſequence; for a ſucceſſion of miſers is not to be expected,—— and the more the father ſaved, the more the ſon

* The objection of the committee of impoſts, that the product of ſuch taxes is uncertain, is one of the ſureſt proofs of their merit. Would you have a certain tax from an uncertain income? To demand it is tyranny, *Rapport du Comité de l' Impoſition concernant les Loix Conſtitutionelles des Finances*, 20th of December, 1790. 8vo. p. 19. I know of no objections to taxes on conſumption, that do not bear in a greater degree on thoſe upon property. It is ſaid, that exciſes raiſe the prices of manufactures, and impede foreign trade and domeſtic conſumption, which has certainly truth in it; but it is alſo true, that England is, in ſpite of them, the moſt manufacturing and commercial nation upon earth, even with many very bad exciſes, and which ought to be changed; they are ſaid to affect the conſumption of the poor particularly, which is merely objecting to the *abuſe*, and not to the nature of the tax; certainly the *height* to which taxation of every kind is carried in England, is cruel, ſhameful, and tyrannical. Moderate exciſes, properly laid, would have no other ill effect than ſuch as flow of neceſſity from the nature of all taxation; as to *immoderate* taxes, and *improperly* laid, they muſt be miſchievous, whether on property or on conſumption.

conſumes; ſo that upon the revolution of a given period, the thing balances itſelf, and the ſtate loſes nothing. But there is alſo the greateſt juſtneſs in the equality of theſe taxes; for they meaſure themſelves by a man's voluntary expences; if he ſpend his income advantageouſly to the national induſtry and improvement, he pays very light, or no taxes, but if he conſume largely and luxuriouſly, his contribution to the ſtate riſes with his expences: advantages poſſeſſed by no other ſpecies of tax. Equality reigns ſo completely in theſe taxes, that from the poor man, who, conſuming nothing, pays nothing; to the next claſs, which, conſuming little, pays little; and to the moſt wealthy, which, conſuming much, pays much, all is regulated on the moſt perfect ſcale of contribution. It is needleſs to obſerve, that exciſes and cuſtoms equally poſſeſs this advantage; that ſtamps have the ſame, and even greater; and that *entrees* and *octrois* have a like merit, ſo far as cities are concerned, but are inferior in not being equally laid on all perſons, wherever they may reſide; a benefit in the eyes of thoſe who think towns an evil. It muſt be ſufficiently obvious, that all perſonal taxes are, to the higheſt degree unequal, from the impoſſibility of varying them properly with the conditions of life: monopolies are equal or not, in proportion to the whole ſociety being equally ſubjected to them; the poſt-office is one of the beſt of taxes, and the moſt equal.

2. *Eaſe of payment.*——In this great point, there is only one ſort of tax which has real merit, namely,

namely, that on conſumption. Here the tax is blended with the price of the commodity, and the conſumer pays without knowing it. He knows the price of a bottle of wine or brandy, a pack of cards, a coach-wheel, a pound of candles, tea, ſnuff, or ſalt —— and he buys as he can afford: it is the ſame to him, whether the ſum he pays be the original expence of production, the dealer's profit, or the national tax; he has nothing to do with calculating them ſeparately, and pays them blended in the price. His eaſe of paying the tax is great alſo, by the time of demanding it, which is juſt at the moment when he may be thought diſpoſed to conſume, becauſe he can afford it, which is certainly the caſe *with the great* maſs of mankind. Taxes on property, and eſpecially on land, are much inferior in this reſpect. So far as they are advanced by the tenant, and drawn back when he reckons with the landlord, they are eaſy to the latter: but they are exactly, in the ſame proportion, burthenſome to the tenant, who has to advance, out of his own pocket, another man's tax, which is palpably unjuſt. We do not feel this much in England, becauſe the tenantry are commonly rich enough not to regard it; but in other countries, where they are poor, it is a great oppreſſion. At the time alſo of demanding the tax from the landlord, who farms his own eſtate, his eaſe is never conſulted; he has to pay the tax, not becauſe he has ſold his produce, for he muſt pay, though his land ſhould not produce a ſingle farthing; not becauſe he buys, and thereby ſhews that he can afford it, but merely

becauſe

becauſe he poſſeſſes, which by no means proves an ability to pay at all: nay, he pays without poſſeſſing more than the name, while another receives the profit; all which ſhews, that land-taxes are groſsly deficient in this eſſential requiſite. It is fair, however, to admit, that a land-tax, paid in kind, like tythes gathered, are eaſy of payment; enormous as other objections are to them, in this reſpect they have merit. But no ſtate, in modern ages, can take taxes in kind; and if let, and conſequently made an engine of private and perſonal pique or reſentment, they become one of the moſt horrible and deteſtable oppreſſions, fit to be endured by ſlaves only. Perſonal taxes are as bad; a man's having a head, or being born to a title, is no proof that he is able to pay a tax, which is demanded of him, at a time that marks neither receipt nor payment.

3. *Encouragement of induſtry.*——Taxes may be laid in ſuch a manner as to diſcourage and oppreſs induſtry, or, on the contrary, to be in this reſpect harmleſs; and under this head, is to be included the inveſtment of capital. If any branch of national induſtry be overloaded with duties, the profits ariſing from it will be ſo much leſſened, that men will not inveſt their capitals in employments thus injuriouſly treated. The firſt object to be conſidered is, what branch of human exertions and induſtry is nationally moſt benefical? The writers and ſtateſmen* of all nations (how much

* Except Colbert, Monſ. Necker, and Mr. Pitt.

ſoever

ſoever they blunder practically), are theoretically agreed upon this point. There is no queſtion, that agriculture is, of all other employments, the moſt important; and a country will be proſperous, in proportion to the capitals inveſted in that purſuit. This decides the merit of land-taxes: in the degree they take place, the profit of poſſeſſing land is diminiſhed, and conſequently capitals are baniſhed. If a land-tax be equally aſſeſſed, a man's improvements are taxed, which he will calculate before he lays out his money, and never inveſt it in a manner that lays him directly open to the operation of ſuch duties. Thus the lands of ſuch a country will be in the hands of men who have no other capital; and experience uniformly tell us, how important it is to the welfare of agriculture, to have land in rich hands. Taxes upon conſumption, may be made utterly deſtructive of any branch of induſtry by injudicious methods of laying them; or by carrying them to too great a height; but in this caſe, the duty fails ſo much in its produce, that the government ſuffers as much as the employment. The tax upon leather, in France, was ruinous; the ſame tax in England is levied without difficulty. The inconvenience of exciſes chiefly flows from the neceſſity of larger capitals being in the hands of manufacturers, to enable them, not to *pay*, but to *advance* the tax, which they draw back in the price of the commodity; the real payment being thus thrown, as it always ought to be, on the conſumer. This circumſtance gives a vaſt ſuperiority to taxes on

conſump-

conſumption, over thoſe on land. The induſtrious man, who inveſts his capital in land, cannot draw back his taxes by raiſing the price of his cattle and corn, and thus make the conſumers pay them; it is ſufficiently evident, that this is impoſſible, whereas all taxes on conſumption are completely drawn back in the price of the goods; unleſs the merchant or manufacturer conſumes himſelf, in which caſe he pays, as he ought to do, the tax. Perſonal taxes, with reſpect to the not diſcouraging of induſtry, and the inveſtment of capital, are very imperfect; and monopolies (except the poſt-office), abſolutely ruinous, for they are prohibitions on every ſort of induſtry which the ſtate chuſes to reſerve to itſelf. The coinage is miſchievous or not, in proportion to its fidelity.

4. *Eaſe of collection.*—In this reſpect, land and houſe taxes have a manifeſt and clear ſuperiority; for the property is impoſſible to be concealed,—and the collection is as cheap as it is eaſy; and this ſmall merit) of moſt trifling import compared with the magnitude of the evils that attend them), has been the motive for recurring to them ſo much in every country. Exciſes and cuſtoms are difficult and expenſive to levy. Stamps, however, have great merit; in the Britiſh revenue, 1,329,905l. is raiſed at the expence of 51,691l. Perſonal taxes are cheaply collected, which is their only merit: monopolies are every where expenſive—a freſh reaſon for rejecting them.

5. *Difficulty of too great extenſion.*—There is ſome merit in a tax rectifying its own exceſs, which

which is the caſe with thoſe on conſumption; for if they be carried to an extreme, they fall off in their produce, by encouraging ſmuggling and fraud. But thoſe on property cannot be evaded, and therefore may be extended to a moſt oppreſſive and ruinous exceſs. The general corollary to be drawn on this ſubject is this—that the beſt taxes are thoſe on conſumption; and the worſt thoſe on property.

On the Propoſition of the Œconomiſtes for an Union of all Taxes on Land.

If the preceding ideas have any thing of truth in them, this ſyſtem muſt be groſsly falſe and miſchievous. I know not whether Mr. Locke were the original father of the doctrine, that all taxes, laid in any manner whatſoever, fall ultimately on land; but whoever ſtarted or ſupported it, contributed towards the eſtabliſhment of one of the moſt dangerous abſurdities that ever diſgraced common ſenſe. To enter largely into a refutation of the maxim would be uſeleſs, as Sir James Stuart, in his *Principles of Political Œconomy*, has, with great force of reaſoning, laid it in the duſt. It was upon this falſe and vicious theory that the œconomiſtes propoſed to abſorb all the impoſts of France in a ſingle land-tax. Grant the erroneous datum, that every tax whatever, on conſumption or otherwiſe, is really borne by the land, and their concluſion is juſt, that it would be better and cheaper to lay on the impoſition directly, in the

firſt inſtance, that indirectly and circuitouſly: but the original idea being abſolutely miſtaken, the concluſion falls of courſe. " Mais que prétendez vous donc obtenir par cette régie ſi menaçante & ſi diſpendieuſe? *De l'argent.* Et ſur quoi prenez-vous cet argent? *Sur des productions.* Et d'où viennent ces productions? *De la terre.* Allez donc plutôt puiſer à la ſource, & demandez un partage régulier, fixe & proportionnel du produit net du territoire *." What a ſeries of groſs errors is found in this ſhort paſſage; almoſt as many as there are words. The contrary is the fact; for theſe taxes are *not* raiſed on productions; and theſe objects do *not* ariſe from the land; and by laying land taxes you do not dig at the ſource, unleſs you could impoſe land-taxes in foreign countries as well your own. What trifling is it to repeat, again and again, the ſame jargon of ideas, without ſaying one word of the powerful refutation which the above-noted Britiſh writer has poured on the whole ſyſtem? Let the National Aſſembly lay twenty-ſeven *vingtiemes* in a varying-land tax, and then let the ruined kingdom come to theſe viſionaries for the balm of their *nouvelle ſcience*, their *phyſocratie*, and their *tableau œconomique*! The nobleſſe of Guienne give it as their opinion, that an impoſt *en nature ſur les fruits*, that is to ſay, a tythe is the beſt tax †. The clergy of Chalons aſk the ſame thing, and that it may abſorb all

* *Le Tiéne*, tom. i. p. 323.

† *Cahier de la Nobleſſe de Guienne*, p. 20.

others

others ‡; but the nobility of the ſame place declare expreſsly againſt it *. The Abbé Raynal, with all his ingenuity, falls into the common error †† and calls a cadaſtre *une belle inſtitution.* Monſ. de Mirabeau ‡‡ has entered at large into a defence of this ſyſtem, by ſhewing that there are great inconveniencies in taxes on conſumption; this every one muſt grant: I know of but two taxes that are free from inconveniencies, the poſt-office and turn-pikes; all others abound with them but to dwell on the inconveniences of exciſes, without ſhewing that they exceed thoſe of land-taxes, is abſurd: you had in France taxes on conſumption to the amount of 260,000,000; we have them in England to a greater amount; the only queſtion really to the purpoſe is this, can you bear an additional land-tax to that amount, in conſequence of the benefit that would reſult from taking off the taxes on conſumption? Monſ. Necker has anſwered this queſtion, with relation to France, in a manner that ought to ſhut the mouths of the œconomiſtes for ever; and in England there can be but one opinion: we are able to bear the taxes as thy are laid at preſent; but if they were all abſorbed on land, agriculture would receive at one ſtroke its mortal wound, and the nation would ſink into utter ruin. We know,

‡ *Cahier du Clergé de Chalons ſur Marne.* p. 11.

* *Cahier*, p. 11.

†† *Etab. des Europ.* 4to. tom. iv. p. 640.

‡‡ *De la Mon. Pruſſ.* tom. iv. p. 53.

from experience, that the landed intereſt cannot poſſibly draw back their taxes; this truth, founded on incontrovertible facts, is deciſive; and if they cannot draw them back, how is the rental of twenty millions to bear land-taxes to the amount of ſeventeen millions? And of what account is the myſtical jargon of a new dialect ‖, relying on theory alone, when oppoſed to the innumerable facts which the preſent ſtate of every country in Europe exhibits? This circumſtance of drawing back a tax, which, with all well imagined duties on conſumption, is univerſally effected, but is abſolutely impracticable with land-taxes, is the great hinge on which this inquiry really turns. When Monſ. Necker ſhews, that if the œconomical ideas were realized, there muſt be TWENTY-EIGHT VINGTIEMES raiſed in France; and when it is conſidered, that in England the rental of the kingdom is but a fifth § more than the taxes of it, we poſſeſs in both caſes the cleareſt and moſt explicit proofs that there would be an utter impoſſibility to commute the preſent taxes in either country, unleſs it were at the ſame time proved, that landlords could, in the price of their products, draw back ſuch enormous taxes, the mere *advance* of which would be an intolerable burthen. But as it is manifeſt, from facts equally explicit, that

‖ The writings of the œconomiſtes *ſcritti in un certo dialetto miſtico. Impoſt ſecondo l'ordine della natura.* 12mo. 1771. p. 15.

§ Including poor rates and tythes, taxes exceed the rental.

no

no land-tax can be drawn back; that the product of land taxed at 4s. in the pound ſells preciſely at the ſame price as that of land taxed at no more than 4d.; and that prices never vary in the leaſt in England from the land-tax being at 1s. or at 4s. in the pound; nor in France when land pays one or three vingtiêmes; when we are in poſſeſſion, I ſay, of facts ſo deciſive, there is the cleareſt ground to conclude, that the idea is viſionary; that ſuch an extenſion of land-taxes is utterly impracticable; and that every attempt towards the execution of theſe plans muſt be immediately pernicious to agriculture, and ultimately ruinous to every intereſt in the ſtate.

Relative to the utter impoſſibility of extending land-taxes in England to ſuch a degree as to include all others, I have it in my power to refer to an inſtance of our taxation moſt correctly given. I have inſerted in the *Annals of Agriculture*, No. 86, an account of all the taxes I pay for my eſtate in Suffolk; and in that account it appears, that the track of land which pays me net 229l. 12s. 7d. pays to the burthens of the public 219l. 18s. 5d. Deducting from fifteen millions and a half (the net revenue of Great Britain) thoſe taxes which enter into that ſum of 219l. 18s. 5d. there remains ten millions and a half; and as the preſent land-tax, at two millions, burthens me 40l. a-year, an additional one of ten millions and a half would conſequently lay the further burthen of five and a half times as much, or 220l.; that is to ſay, it would leave me the net receipt of 9l. for the whole

clear

clear income of my eſtate! Perhaps the œconomiſtes never received, directly from facts, ſo convincing a proof as this inſtance offers, of the utter impracticability of their prepoſterous ſchemes. Yet theſe are the principles, ſorry I am to remark, that ſeem at preſent to govern the National Aſſembly in matters of finance. To their honour, however,—greatly to their honour—they do not ſeem inclined to go all the lengths which ſome of their members wiſh for: "puiſque l'interêt bien entendu de ces trois grandes ſources de la proſperité des nations, appuyé des noms impoſans de Queſnay, de Turgot, de Gournay, de Mirabeau le pêre, de la Riviere, de Condorcet, de Schmidt, & de *Leopold*, & dévelopé de nouveau dans ces derniers momens avec une logique ſi vigoureuſe par M. Farcet n'a pas encore perſuader cette arbitraire inconſequente & deſpotique reine du monde qu'on appelle, l'opinion *." One cannot but ſmile at the figure the great Leopold makes; he is put in the rear, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he never realized, in any one inſtance, the land-tax of the œconomiſtes, much to his credit.

The miſchievous, and indeed infamous abuſes in the collection of the *gabelles*, *droites d'aides*, and *droits de traites*, &c. have certainly been in a great meaſure the origin of that prejudice, ſo general in France againſt taxes on conſumption: the cruelties practiſed in the collection, have been falſely

* *De quelques amelioration dans la perception de l'impôt*, par M. Dupont, p. 7.

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ſuppoſed to flow, of neceſſity, from the nature of the taxes; but we know, from long experience, the contrary in England; and that exciſes, to a vaſt amount, may be raiſed without any ſuch cruelties, as have been commonly practiſed by the old government in France. I am very far from contending that theſe taxes in England are free from abuſes; and I am ſenſible, that there are caſes in which the dealers in exciſed commodities feel themſelves hardly dealt by; and that liberty is attacked in their operation: but every one muſt alſo be ſenſible, that land-taxes are not free from objections equally ſtrong. When the collector demands ſums that are out of the power of the individual to pay, and ſeizes, by diſtreſs, the goods and chattels, to ſell them, perhaps, for half their value;—when we ſee the people ſtopping up their windows, denying themſelves the enjoyment even of light itſelf, and ſubmitting to live in dampneſs and in darkneſs, rather than pay a cruel tax on the property of houſes; when ſuch hardſhips occur, it ſurely will not be thought, that it is duties on conſumption only, that open to ſuch abuſes; every ſort of tax, except the poſt-office and turnpikes, is a heavy evil, and the only inquiry is, of ſo many ills, which is leaſt?

The ſmallneſs of the properties in land, is another inſuperable objection to land-taxes in France: if fairly laid to the real value, on the poſſeſſion of a few acres, they become the ſource of great miſery: the man whoſe land gives him bareley the neceſſaries of life, has nothing to ſpare for direct taxes

taxes; he muſt depend for paying them on ſome other employment at beſt precarious, in a kingdom where population goes ſo much beyond employment, and where numbers ſtarve from inability of maintenance. If, to avoid theſe evils, exemptions from the tax are given them, theſe ſmall properties, the parent and origin, at beſt, of ſuch multiplied diſtreſs, receive a direct encouragement, than which a more cruel policy could not be embraced. The only meaſure that would remedy both evils, is to prohibit the diviſion of landed property into portions, below the ability of paying duties; or elſe, to reject land-taxes altogether. A groſs evil of theſe direct impoſts is, that of moneyed men, or *capitaliſts*, eſcaping all taxation: none but duties on conſumption affect them. In countries where land-taxes abound, theſe men will never become proprietors, for the ſimpleſt reaſon, becauſe theſe taxes reduce the profit of poſſeſſing land below the profit of other inveſtments. They live upon the intereſt of money in the public funds; and the cleareſt principles of juſtice, call for a ſyſtem of taxation that ſhall bring theſe men within its ſphere; this is only to be done by taxes on conſumption; by exciſes, cuſtoms, ſtamps, *entrées*, &c.; and is a powerful reaſon for multiplying ſuch taxes, inſtead of thoſe on land. Under the regimen of land taxes, all foreigners reſiding in a kingdom abſolutely eſcape taxation; but with duties on conſumption they are made to contribute equally with the natives; in ſuch a kingdom as France, which always did, and ever will, attract many

many, ſtrangers, this is an object of ſome conſequence. But, perhaps, the greateſt objection to taxes upon land is, their preventing all improvements in agriculture, if they are equal; and, if unequal, carrying with them the greateſt principle of injuſtice, by being defective in the firſt requiſite of all taxation. The greateſt friends to this ſpecies of impoſition, acknowledge the neceſſity of being equal. It is this that induces the Abbé Raynal to call a *cadaſtre une belle inſtitution*; and a late writer declares, "Il n'eſt point de Pays ou il ne ſoit neceſſaire d'inventorier tout le terretoire dans le plus grand detail d'enregiſter chaque portion, d'en connoître les mutations d'en evaluer le revenu & ou ſi l'on deſire de perpétuer l'impoſition égale & proportionelle il ne ſoit indiſpenſable de ſuivre la progreſſion du revenu *:"—and this method he explains afterwards, by aſſerting the abſolute neceſſity of having a new valuation every nine years; and he finds fault † with the King of Sardinia's *cadaſtre*, becauſe the valuation has never been renewed. Another of theſe politicians obſerves, that the excellency of a tythe, as a mode of taxation, is, that if improvements are extended, or lands cultivated with more care, the revenue of the ſtate increaſes with it ‡. In the ſame ſpirit, many of the *cahiers* demanded the ſuppreſſion of

* *Le Trône Ad. Prov.* tom. i. pref. xiv.

† *Ibid.* p. 235.

‡ *Plan d'Admin. des Finances*, par M. Malport. 1787. p. 34.

all duties on conſumption ‖.—I could multiply ſuch ſentiments almoſt to fill a volume, if I were to go back to conſult the deluge of writings which infeſted France five and twenty years ago, but I quote only ſome living authors, who hold theſe pernicious doctrines at preſent. If the National Aſſembly adopts the tax recommended by their committee, of 300 millions, and ſhould, upon theſe principles, make it a variable one, though never riſing in its amount above that ſum, the mere mutation of eaſing a wretched, poor, ſlovenly farmer, and loading proportionally an improving one, will abſolutely prohibit all ameliorations of national agriculture: and if they drew theſe variations to the profit of the ſtate, by increaſing the total ſum proportionably to ſuch improvements, they will ſtill prevent them, as no man will inveſt his capital in any induſtrious employment in which the ſtate taxes his profits.

As I have mentioned ſeveral writers in favour of land-taxes, in terms of that condemnation, abſolutely neceſſary by a friend of agriculture, it is no more than juſtice to obſerve, that France contains ſome others, whoſe writings are free from this great objection. Monſ. Necker, in his treatiſe on the adminiſtration of the finances, gives the preference to taxes on conſumption, and ſhews the utter impoſſibility of a land-tax abſorbing all others. The marquis de Caſſaux § has alſo attempted,

‖ *Nobleſſe de Lyon*, p. 16. *Bugey*, p. 28. *Troyes Tiers Etat*, art. 13. *Etampes*, art. 33. *Nimes*, p. 44. There is not a tax exiſting in France, which is not demanded in ſome cahier to be ſuppreſſed.

§ *Mechaniſme des Societies*. 8vo. 1785. p. 222.

with

with much force of reaſon, to prove, that the land-taxes of France and England *ought to be converted into duties on conſumption.* And ſome of the beſt writers of that vaſt collection, in which the phyſiocratical ſcience originated, are of the ſame opinion. Proportional impoſts, on the conſumption of commodities, are *the moſt juſt, the moſt productive, and the leaſt burthenſome to a people, becauſe paid daily and imperceptibly* *. And the nobility of Quercy have, in their *cahier*, a paſſage, which does honour to their good ſenſe: "Conſidérant que l'import indirect a l'inappreciable avantage d'une perception imperceptible & ſpontanée: que le contribuable ne le paye qu'au moment ou il en à les moyens: qu'il frappe ſur les capitaliſtes dont le genre de fortune échappe á tout autre impot: que la meſure des conſommations étant en général celle des richeſſes, il atteint par ſa nature à une juſteſſe de repartition d'ont l'impôt direct n'eſt pas ſuſceptible †.——Theſe ſterling and wiſe principles; in few words, are developped in their moſt ſtriking features.

Of Simplicity of Taxation.

So many of the *cahiers* of France unite with the *œconomiſtes*, in calling for the utmoſt ſimplicity in taxation, by means of one only and uniform proportional impoſt on land, that it merits a ſhort inquiry, how far this theory of ſimplicity is, in itſelf, deſerving of the ideas entertained of it. There

* *Encyclopedie.* Folio. tom. viii. p. 602.

† Page 6.

can be no doubt of the advantage of a cheap collection attending this or any plan of ſimplicity; but there are reaſons for thinking that this benefit would be purchaſed at an expence a thouſand times greater than it is worth. I do not love recurring to, or depending altogether on reaſoning, when facts are at hand, on which we can build our concluſions: the taxes of England are infinitely various; much more ſo than thoſe of France, eſpecially in the articles of exciſes and ſtamps; our taxes are alſo very great; in proportion to the population of the kingdom, much more than double thoſe of France; yet, with this vaſt burthen, they are borne by the people with much more eaſe than the French nation bears leſs than the half. This is to be attributed not to one cauſe only, but to many; but amongſt thoſe cauſes, I believe, will be found this great variety of points on which they bear. The mere circumſtance of taxes being very numerous, in order to raiſe a given ſum, is a conſiderable ſtep towards equality in the burthen falling on the people; if I was to define a good ſyſtem of taxation, it ſhould be that of *bearing lightly on an infinite number of points, heavily on none.* In other words, that ſimplicity in taxation is the greateſt additional weight that can be given to taxes, and ought, in every country, to be moſt ſedulouſly avoided.——By a ſyſtem of ſimplicity in taxation, let it be exerted in whatever method, whether on land, on perſons, or on conſumption, there will always be claſſes of the people much lighter taxed than other claſſes; and this inequality will

will throw an oppreſſive burthen on thoſe who are moſt expoſed to the operation of whatever tax is choſen. No one is a greater enemy than I am to land-taxes; but ſuch is the advantage of an extremely various ſyſtem, that I would not contend for taking them entirely off in any country. A land-tax of 6d. 9d. or perhaps 1s. in the pound, but permanent, would be ſo light a burthen, that it might be borne, without the miſchief of impeding agriculture. Taxes on windows are amongſt the very worſt that can be laid; but, as far as 3d. each, might not be liable to much objection. Unfortunately for France, the favourite idea there is the very contrary one —— that of ſimplicity. It would have been wiſe not abſolutely ly to ſuppreſs any one of their taxes, not even the *gabelle* itſelf: removing the abuſes that flow from farming a revenue, introducing into the receipt the mildneſs of a free government, and changing entirely the mode of collection, would have removed the chief objections to thoſe taxes which have been aboliſhed, and have ſaved the enormous evil, now neceſſary, of loading land. This ſubject is a fruitful one, worthy the attention of able pens expreſsly employed on it, the rapid ſketches which can alone be given by a traveller will allow of mere hints.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

On the Revolution of France.

THE groſs infamy which attended *letters de cachet* and the Baſtile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them eſteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the moſt prominent features of the deſpotiſm of France. They were certainly carried to an exceſs hardly credible; to the length of being ſold, with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleaſure of the purchaſer; who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the boſom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exiſt forgotten, and die unknown*!——But ſuch exceſſes could not be common in any country; and they were reduced almoſt to nothing, from the acceſſion of the preſent King. The great

* An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will explain the profligacy of government, in reſpect to theſe arbitrary impriſonments. Lord Albemarle, when ambaſſador in France, about the year 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American colonies, which, three years after, produced the war, calling one day on the miniſter for foreign affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while he finiſhed a ſhort converſation in the apartment in which he uſually received thoſe who conferred with

great maſs of the people, by which I mean the lower and middle ranks, could ſuffer very little from ſuch engines, and as few of them are objects of jealouſy, had there been nothing elſe to complain of, it is not probable they would ever have been brought to take arms. The abuſes attending the levy of taxes were heavy and univerſal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, with an intendant at the head of each, into whoſe hands the whole power of the crown was delegated for every thing except the military authority; but

with him. As his lordſhip walked backwards and forwards, in a very ſmall room (a French cabinet is never a large one), he could not help ſeeing a paper lying on the table, written in a large legible hand, and containing a liſt of the priſoners in the Baſtile, in which the firſt name was Gordon. When the miniſter entered, lord Albemarle apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper; the other replied, that it was not of the leaſt conſequence, for they made no ſecret of the names. Lord *A.* then ſaid, that he had ſeen the name of Gordon firſt in the liſt, and he begged to know, as in all probability the perſon of this name was a Britiſh ſubject, on what account he had been put into the Baſtile. The miniſter told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make the proper inquiries. The next time he ſaw lord Albemarle, he informed him, that, on inquiring into the caſe of Gordon, he could find no perſon who could give him the leaſt information; on which he had Gordon himſelf interrogated, who ſolemnly affirmed, that he had not the ſmalleſt knowledge, or even ſuſpicion, of the cauſe of his impriſonment, but that he had been confined 30 years; however, added the miniſter, I ordered him to be immediately releaſed, and he is now at large. Such a caſe wants no comment.

particularly

particularly for all affairs of finance. The generalities were ſubdivided into elections, at the head of which was a *ſub-delegué*, appointed by the intendant. The rolls of the *taille*, *capitation*, *vingtiêmes*, and other taxes, were diſtributed among diſtricts, pariſhes, and individuals, at the pleaſure of the intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminiſh, at pleaſure. Such an enormous power, conſtantly acting, and from which no man was free, might in the nature of things, degenerate in many caſes into abſolute tyranny. It muſt be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents of the intendant, and of all his *ſub-delegués*. and the friends of theſe friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be favoured in taxation at the expence of their miſerable neighbours; and that noblemen, in favour at court, to whoſe protection the intendant himſelf would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight of their taxes on others, without a ſimilar ſupport. Inſtances, and even groſs ones, have been reported to me in many parts of the kingdom, that made me ſhudder at the oppreſſion to which numbers muſt have been condemned; by the undue favours granted to ſuch crooked influence. But, without recurring to ſuch caſes, what muſt have been the ſtate of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their miſery, to ſee thoſe who could beſt afford to pay, exempted becauſe able!——The inrolments for the militia, which the *cahiers* call *an injuſtice*

without

without example *, were another dreadful ſcourge on the peaſantry; and, as married men were exempted from it, occaſioned in ſome degree that miſchievous population, which brought beings into the world, in order for little elſe than to be ſtarved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers; more than 300 were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Loraine: all theſe oppreſſions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one ſhudder at the horrors of puniſhment inadequate to the crime †. A few features will ſufficiently characterize the old government of France.

* *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c.

† It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Conſid. par M. le Baron de Cormeré*, tom. ii. p. 187.) very well informed on every ſubject of finance, that, upon an average, there were annually taken up and ſent to priſon or the gallies, Men, 2340. Women, 896. Children, 201. Total, 3437. 300 of theſe to the gallies (tom. i. p. 112.) The ſalt confiſcated from theſe miſerable amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of 8 liv. are, 101,064 liv.

2772 lb. of ſalted fleſh, at 10*ſ.*	1,386
1086 horſes, at 50 liv.	54,300
52 carts, at 150 liv.	7,800
Fines,	53,207
Seized in houſes,	105,530
	323,287

1. Smugglers of ſalt, armed and aſſembled to the number of five, in Provence, *a fine of* 500 liv. *and nine years gallies*;———in all the reſt of the kingdom, *death.*

2. Smugglers armed, aſſembled, but in number under five, *a fine of* 300 liv. *and three years gallies.* Second offence, *death.*

3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horſes, carts, or boats; *a fine of* 300 liv. *if not paid, three years gallies.* Second offence, 400 liv. *and nine years gallies.*———In Dauphiné, ſecond offence, *gallies for life.* In Provence, *five years gallies.*

4. Smugglers, who carry the ſalt on their backs, and without arms, *a fine of* 200 liv. *and, if not paid, are flogged and branded.* Second offence, *a fine of* 300 liv, *and ſix years gallies.*

5. Women, married and ſingle, ſmugglers, firſt offence, *a fine of* 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, *flogged, and baniſhed the kingdom for life. Huſbands reſponſible both in fine and body.*

6. Children ſmugglers, the ſame as women.—*Fathers and mothers reſponſible; and for defect of payment flogged.*

7. Nobles, if ſmugglers, *deprived of their nobility; and their houſes raſed to the ground.*

8. Any perſons in employments (I ſuppoſe employed in the ſalt-works or the revenue), if ſmugglers, *death.* And ſuch as aſſiſt in the theft of ſalt in the tranſport, *hanged.*

9. Soldiers ſmuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without arms, *gallies for life.*

10. Buying

10. Buying ſmuggled ſalt to reſel it, *the ſame puniſhments as for ſmuggling.*

11. Perſons in the ſalt employments, *empowered if two, or one with two witneſſes, to enter and examine houſes even of the privileged orders.*

12. All families, and perſons liable to the *taille*, in the provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their conſumption of ſalt for the *pot and ſaliére* (that is the daily conſumption, excluſive of ſalting meat, &c. &c.) eſtimated at 7lb. a head per annum, which quantity they are forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain of various fines according to the caſe.

The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful ſcourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term, is to be underſtood the paramountſhip of certain diſtricts, granted by the king, to princes of the blood, by which they were put in poſſeſſion of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very ſingular, on manors granted long before to individuals; ſo that the erecting of a diſtrict into a *capitainerie*, was an annihiliation of all manorial rights to game within it. This was a trifling buſineſs, in compariſon of other circumſtances; for, in ſpeaking of the preſervation of the game in theſe *capitaineries*, it muſt be obſerved, that by game muſt be underſtood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleaſure, over the whole country, to the deſtruction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the wretched peaſants, who preſumed to kill them,

in order to ſave that food which was to ſupport their helpleſs children. The game in the *capitaineries* of Montceau, in four pariſhes only, did miſchief to the amount of 184,263 liv. per annum *. No wonder then that we ſhould find the people aſking, "*Nous demandons à grand cris la deſtruction des capitaineries & celle de toute ſorte de gibier* †." And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permiſſion—"*De nettoyer ſes grains de faucher les prés artificiels, & d'enlever ſes chaumes ſans égard pour la perdrix ou tout autre gibier* ‡." Now, an Engliſh reader will ſcarcely underſtand it without being told, that there were numerous edicts for preſerving the game which prohibited weeding and hoeing, leſt the young partridges ſhould be diſturbed; ſteeping ſeed, leſt it ſhould injure the game; manuring with night ſoil, leſt the flavour of the partridges ſhould be injured by feeding on the corn ſo produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, ſo late as to ſpoil many crops; and taking away the ſtubble, which would deprive the birds of ſhelter. The tyranny exerciſed in theſe *capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of country, was ſo great, that many *cahiers* demanded the utter ſuppreſſion of them ‖.

* *Cahier du tiers état de Meaux*, p. 49.

† *De Mantes* and *Meulan*, p. 38.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 40.—Alſo, *Nob. & Tier Etat de Peronne*, p. 42. *De Trois ordres de Monfort*, p. 28.

‖ *Clergé de Provins & Montereau*, p. 35.—*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.—*Clergé de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 45, 46.—*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.—*Nob. de Nemours*, p. 17.—*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.—*Nob. d'Arras*, p. 29.

Such

Such were the exertions of arbitrary power which the lower orders felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a queſtion whether the others, ſuffered circuitouſly through the nobility and the clergy, were not yet more oppreſſive? Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cahiers* under this head. They ſpeak of the diſpenſation of juſtice in the manorial courts, as comprizing every ſpecies of deſpotiſm: the diſtricts indeterminate—appeals endleſs—irreconcileable to liberty and proſperity—and irrevocably proſcribed in the opinion of the public*—augmenting litigations—favouring every ſpecies of chicane—ruining the parties—not only by enormous expences on the moſt petty objects, but by a dreadful loſs of time. The judges commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in *cabarets*, and are abſolutely dependent on the ſeigneurs, in conſequence of their feudal powers. They are "*vexations qui ſont le plus grand fléau des peuples* ‡.—*Eſclavage affligeant* ‖.—*Ce regime deſaſtreuſe* §.——That the *feodalité* be for ever aboliſhed. The countryman is tyrannically enſlaved by it. Fixed and heavy rents; vexatious proceſſes to ſecure them; appreciated unjuſtly to augment them: rents, *ſolidaires*, and *revenchables*; rents, *chéantes*, and *levantes*, *fumages*. Fines at

* *Rennes*, art. 12.
† *Nevernois*, art. 43.
‡ *Tier Etat de Vannes*, p. 24.
‖ *T. Etat Clermont Ferrand.* p. 52.
§ *T. Etat. Auxerre* art. 6.

every

every change of the property, in the direct as well as collateral line; feudal redemption (*retraite*); fines on ſale, to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions (*rachats*) injurious in their origin, and ſtill more ſo in their extenſion; *banalité* of the mill ¶, of the oven, and of the wine and cyder-preſs; *corveés* by cuſtom; *corveés* by uſage of the fief; *corveés* eſtabliſhed by unjuſt decrees; *corveés* arbitrary, and even phantaſtical; ſervitudes; *preſtations*, extravagant and burthenſome; collections by aſſeſſments incollectible; *aveux*, *minus*, *impuniſſemens*; litigations ruinous and without end: the rod of ſeigneural finance for ever ſhaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, violence, and deſtructive ſervitude, under which the peaſants, almoſt on a level with Poliſh ſlaves, can never but be miſerable, vile, and oppreſſed **. They demand alſo, that the uſe of hand-mills be free; and hope that poſterity if poſſible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bretagne, armed with the judicial power, has not bluſhed even in theſe times, at breaking hand-mills, and at ſelling annually to the miſerable, the faculty of bruiſing between two ſtones a meaſure of buck-wheat or

¶ By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the mill of the ſeigneur only; to preſs their grapes at his preſs only; and to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often ſpoiled, and more eſpecially wine, ſince in Champagne thoſe grapes which, preſſed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the preſs, which often happens, make red wine only.

** *Tiers Etat de Rennes*, p. 159.

barley

barley ††. The very terms of theſe complaints are unknown in England, and conſequently untranſlatable: they have probably ariſen long ſince the feudal ſyſtem ceaſed in this kingdom. What are theſe tortures of the peaſantry in Bretagne, which they call *chevanchés, quintaines, ſoule, ſaut de poiſon, baiſer de marieés; chanſons; tranſporte d'œuf ſur un charette; ſilence des grenouilles* * *corvée a miſericorde; milods; leide; couponage; cattelage; barage; fouage; marechauſſé; ban vin; ban d'août; trouſſes; gelinage; civerage; taillabilité; vingtain; ſterlage; bordelage; minage; ban de vendanges; droit d'accapte* †. In paſſing through many of the French provinces, I was ſtruck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers and little proprietors of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their induſtry was burthened; but I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the ſhackles which kept them poor and depreſſed. I underſtood it better afterwards, from the converſation and complaints of ſome grand ſeigneurs, as the revolution advanced; and I then learned, that the principal rental of many eſtates conſiſted in ſervices and

†† *Rennes*, p. 57.

* This is a curious article: when the lady of the ſeigneur lies in, the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marſhy diſtricts, to keep the frogs ſilent, that ſhe may not be diſturbed; this duty, a very oppreſſive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

† *Reſumé des cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

feudal

feudal tenures; by the baneful influence of which the induſtry of the people was almoſt exterminated. In regard to the oppreſſions of the clergy, as to tythes, I muſt do that body a juſtice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England. Though the eccleſiaſtical tenth was levied in France more ſeverely than uſual in Italy, yet was it never exacted with ſuch horrid greedineſs as is at preſent the diſgrace of England. When taken in kind, no ſuch thing was known in any part of France, where I made inquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture pay any thing; thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chicorée, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts, meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives in ſome places paid—in more they did not. Cows nothing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21ſt. Wool nothing.—Such mildneſs, in the levy of this odious tax, is abſolutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the burthen to people groaning under ſo many other oppreſſions, united to render their ſituation ſo bad that no change could be for the worſe. But theſe were not all the evils with which the people ſtruggled. The adminiſtration of juſtice was partial, venal, infamous. I have, in converſation with many very ſenſible men, in different parts of the kingdom, met with ſomething of content with their government, in all other reſpects than this; but upon the queſtion of expecting juſtice to be really and fairly adminiſtered,

every

every one confeſſed there was no ſuch thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almoſt every cauſe that came before them, intereſt was openly made with the judges: and woe betided the man who, with a cauſe to ſupport, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handſome wife, or by other methods. It has been ſaid, by many writers, that property was as ſecure under the old government of France as it is in England; and the aſſertion might poſſibly be true, as far as any violence from the King, his miniſters, or the great was concerned: but for all that maſs of property, which comes in every country to be litigated in courts of juſtice, there was not even the ſhadow of ſecurity, unleſs the parties were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally honeſt; in every other caſe, he who had the beſt intereſt with the judges, was ſure to be the winner. To reflecting minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending ſuch courts are ſufficiently apparent. There was alſo a circumſtance in the conſtitution of theſe parliaments, but little known in England, and which, under ſuch a government as that of France, muſt be conſidered as very ſingular. They had the power, and were in the conſtant practice of iſſuing decrees, without the conſent of the crown, and which had the force of laws through the whole of their juriſdiction; and of all other laws, theſe were ſure to be the beſt obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought before ſovereign courts, compoſed of the ſame perſons

who had enacted theſe laws (a horrible ſyſtem of tyranny!) they were certain of being puniſhed with the laſt ſeverity. It muſt appear ſtrange, in a government ſo deſpotic in ſome reſpects as that of France, to ſee the parliaments in every part of the kingdom making laws without the King's conſent, and even in defiance of his authority. The Engliſh, whom I met in France in 1789, were ſurprized to ſee ſome of theſe bodies iſſuing arrets againſt the export of corn out of the provinces ſubject to their juriſdiction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the ſame time that the King, through the organ of ſo popular a miniſter as Monſ. Necker, was decreeing an abſolutely free tranſport of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the requiſition of the National Aſſembly itſelf. But this was nothing new; it was their common practice. The parliament of Rouen paſſed an arret againſt killing of calves; it was a prepoſterous one, and oppoſed by adminiſtration; but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend againſt it, he would have found, by the rigour of his puniſhment, who was his maſter. Innoculation was favoured by the court in Louis XV.'s time; but the parliament of Paris paſſed an arret againſt it, much more effective in prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging that practice. Inſtances are innumerable, and I may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, falſe principles, and tyranny of theſe bodies were generally conſpicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted), never had a diſpute with a parliament, but the parliament was

ſure

ſure to be wrong. Their conſtitution, in reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice, was ſo truly rotten, that the members ſat as judges, even in cauſes of private property, in which they were themſelves the parties, and have, in this capacity, been guilty of oppreſſions and cruelties, which the crown has rarely dared to attempt,

It is impoſſible to juſtify the exceſſes of the people on their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved too clearly to admit of a doubt. But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole?—Or to their oppreſſors who had kept them ſo long in a ſtate of bondage? He who chooſes to be ſerved by ſlaves, and by ill-treated ſlaves, muſt know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from thoſe who prefer the ſervice of well treated freemen; and he who dines to the muſic of groaning ſufferers, muſt not, in the moment of inſurrection, complain that his daughters are raviſhed, and then deſtroyed; and that his ſons throats are cut. When ſuch evils happen, they ſurely are more imputable to the tyranny of the maſter, then to the cruelty of the ſervant. The analogy holds with the French peaſants—the murder of a ſeigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every newſpaper; the rank of the perſon who ſuffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the regiſter of that ſeigneur's oppreſſions of his peaſantry, and his exactions of feudal ſervices, from thoſe whoſe children were dying around them for want of bread?

Where do we find the minutes that aſſigned theſe ſtarving wretches to ſome vile petty-fogger, to be fleeced by impoſitions, and a mockery of juſtice, in the ſeigneural courts? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his *ſub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of faſhion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were ſo unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt ſufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of deſpotiſm, regal, ariſtocratical, and eccleſiaſtical, pervading the whole maſs of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, the moſt diſtant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedneſs? In theſe caſes, the ſufferers are too ignoble to be known; and the maſs too indiſcriminate to be pitied. But ſhould a philoſopher feel and reaſon thus? ſhould he miſtake the cauſe for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compaſſion for the many, becauſe they ſuffer in his eyes not individually, but by millions? The exceſſes of the people cannot, I repeat, be juſtified; it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and chriſtians, if they had poſſeſſed their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be remembered, that the populace in no country ever uſe power with moderation; exceſs is inherent in their aggregate conſtitution: and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in ſuch hands, it is doubly bound in common ſenſe, and for common ſafety, ſo to conduct itſelf, that the people may not find an intereſt in public conſuſions. They will always

ſuffer

ſuffer much and long, before they are effectually rouſed; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but ſuch oppreſſions of ſome claſſes or order in the ſociety, as give able men the opportunity of ſeconding the general maſs; diſcontent will ſoon diffuſe itſelf around; and if the government take not warning in time, it is alone anſwerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devaſtation, and blood that follow. The true judgment to be formed of the French revolution, muſt ſurely be gained, from an attentive conſideration of the evils of the old government: when theſe are well underſtood—and when the extent and univerſality of the oppreſſion under which the people groaned—oppreſſion which bore upon them from every quarter, it will ſcarely be attempted to be urged, that a revolution was not abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare of the kingdom. Not one oppoſing voice * can, with reaſon, be raiſed againſt this

* Many oppoſing voices have been raiſed; but ſo little to their credit, that I leave the paſſage as it was written long ago. The abuſes that are rooted in all the old governments of Europe, give ſuch numbers of men a direct intereſt in ſupporting, cheriſhing, and defending abuſes, that no wonder advocates for tyranny, of every ſpecies, are found in every country, and almoſt in every company. What a maſs of people, in every part of England, are ſome way or other intereſted in the preſent repreſentation of the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies, and taxation! and not merely to the things themſelves, but to all the abuſes attending them; and how many are there who derive their profit or their conſideration in life, not merely from ſuch inſtitutions, but

this aſſertion: abuſes ought certainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could not be done without the eſtabliſhment of a new form of government; whether the form that has been adopted were the beſt, is another queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. But that the above-mentioned detail of enormities practiſed on the people required ſome great change is ſufficiently apparent; and I cannot better conclude ſuch a liſt of deteſtable oppreſſions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty, with an eloquence worthy of the ſubject.

" Les plaintes du peuple ſe ſont long-tems perdues dans l'eſpace immenſe qui le ſepare du trône: cette claſſe la plus nombreuſe & la plus intéreſſante de la ſocieté; cette claſſe qui mérite les premiers ſoins du gouvernement, puiſqu' elle alimente toutes les autres; cette claſſe à laquelle on doit & les arts néceſſaires a la vie, & ceux qui en embelliſſent le cours; cette claſſe enfin qui en recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle apres tant de ſiécles d'oppreſſion & de miſére

but from the evils they engender! The great maſs of the people, however, is free from ſuch influence, and will be enlightened by degrees; aſſuredly they will find out, in every country of Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, aimed equally againſt regal, ariſtocratical, and mobbiſh tyranny, they will be able to reſiſt ſucceſsfully, that variety of combination, which, on principles of plunder and deſpotiſm, is every where at work to enſlave them.

compter

competer aujourdhui ſur un ſort plus heureux? Ce ſeroit pour ainſi dire blaſphémer l'autorité tutélaire ſous laquelle nous vivons que d'en douter un ſeul moment. Un reſpect aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence ou par la ſuperſtition, une ignorance profonde des conditions du pacte ſocial voila ce qui a perpétué juſq' à nous la ſervitude dans laquelle ont gemi nos pères. Un jour plus pur eſt près d'éclorre: le roi a manifeſté le deſir de trouver des ſujets capables de lui dire la vérité; une des ſes loix l'edit de création des aſſemblées provinciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus preſſant de ſon cœur ſera toujours celui qui tendra au ſoulagement & au bonheur de ſes peuples: une autre loi qui a retenti du centre du Royaume à ſes dernières extrémités nous a promis la reſtitution de tous nos droits, dont nous n'avions perdu, & dont nous ne pouvions perdre que l'exercice puiſque le fond de ces mêmes droits eſt inaliénable, & impreſcriptible. Oſons donc ſecouer le joug des anciennes erreurs: oſons dire tout ce qui eſt vrai, tout ce qui eſt utile; oſons réclamer les droits eſſentiels & primitifs de l'homme: la raiſon, l'équité, l'opinion générale, la bienfaiſance connue de notre auguſte ſouverain tout concours à aſſurer le ſuccès de nos doléances."

Having ſeen the propriety, or rather the neceſſity, of ſome change in the government, let us next briefly inquire into the effects of the revolution on the principal intereſts in the kingdom.

In reſpect to all the honours, power, and profit derived to the nobility from the feudal ſyſtem, which

which was of an extent in France beyond any thing known in England ſince the revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is laid in the duſt, without a rag or remnant being ſpared *: the importance of theſe, both in influence and revenue, was ſo great, that the reſult is all but ruin to numbers. However, as theſe properties were really tyrannies; as they rendered the poſſeſſion of one ſpot of land ruinous to all round it——and equally ſubverſive of agriculture, and the common rights of mankind, the utter deſtruction brought on all this ſpecies of property, does not ill deſerve the epithet they are ſo fond of in France; it is a real regeneration of the people to the privileges of human

* It is to be obſerved, that the orders of knighthood were at firſt preſerved; when the National Aſſembly, with a forbearance that did them honour, refuſed to aboliſh thoſe orders, becauſe perſonal, of merit, and not hereditary, they were guilty of one groſs error. They ought immediately to have addreſſed the King, to inſtitute a new order of knighthood—KNIGHTS OF THE PLOUGH. There are doubtleſs little ſouls that will ſmile at this, and think a thiſtle, a garter, or an eagle more ſignificant, and more honourable; I ſay nothing of orders, that exceed common ſenſe and common chronology, ſuch as St. Eſprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to ſuch as venerate moſt what they leaſt underſtand. But that prince, who ſhould firſt inſtitute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour: Leopold, whoſe twenty years, ſteady and well earned Tuſcan fame gives him a good right to do it with propriety, might, as Emperor, inſtitute it with moſt effect. In him, ſuch an action would have in it nothing of affectation. But I had rather THE PLOUGH had thus been honoured by a free aſſembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philoſophy of a new age, and a new ſyſtem.

nature

nature. No man of common feelings can regret the fall of all of that abominable ſyſtem, which made a whole pariſh ſlaves to the lord of the manor. But the effects of the revolution have gone much farther; and have been attended with conſequences not equally juſtifiable. The rents of land, which are as legal under the new government as they were under the old, are no longer paid with regularity. I have been lately informed (Auguſt 1791), on authority not to be doubted, that aſſociations among tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed, even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of rent; ſaying, in direct terms, we are ſtrong enough to detain the rent, and you are not ſtrong enough to enforce the payment. In a country where ſuch things are poſſible, property of every kind it muſt be allowed, is in a dubious ſituation. Very evil conſequences will reſult from this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to loſe, or for the peaſants to pay, who will not eaſily be brought to reliſh that order and legal government, which muſt neceſſarily ſecure theſe arrears to their right owners. In addition to all the reſt, by the new ſyſtem of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or not to exceed 4s. in the pound; but, under the old government, their *vingtiemes* did not amount to the ſeventh part of ſuch an impoſt. In whatever light, therefore, the caſe of French landlords is viewed, it will appear, that they have ſuffered immenſely by the revolution.——That many of them deſerved it, cannot, however, be doubted,

ſince we ſee their *cahiers* demanding ſteadily, that all their feudal rights ſhould be confirmed *: that the carrying of arms ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited to every body but noblemen †: that the infamous arrangements of the militia ſhould remain on its old footing ‡: that breaking up waſtes, and incloſing commons, ſhould be prohibited ‖: that the nobility alone ſhould be eligible to enter into the army, church, &c. §: that *lettres de cachet* ſhould continue **: that the preſs ſhould not be free ††: and, in fine, that there ſhould be no free corn trade ‡‡.

* *Evreux*, p. 32.——*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.—*Artois*, p. 22.——*Bazas*, p. 8.—*Nivernois*, p. 7.——*Poitou*, p. 13.——*Saintonge*, p. 5.——*Orleans*, p. 19.——*Chaumont*, p. 7.

† *Vermandois*, p. 41.—*Queſnoy*, p. 19.—*Sens*, p. 25.——*Evreux*, p. 36.——*Seſanne*, p. 17.—*Bar ſur Seine*, p. 6.—*Beauvais*, p. 13.——*Bugey*, p. 34.——*Clermont Ferand* p. 11.

‡ *Limoges*, p. 36.

‖ *Cambray*, p. 19.—*Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 38.

§ *Lyon*, p. 13. *Touraine*, p. 32.——*Angoumois*, p. 13.——*Auxerre*, p. 13. The author of the *Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo. 1792, ſays, p. 68, "the worſt enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light any *cahier*, in which the nobles inſiſted on their excluſive right to military preferments."——In the ſame page, this gentleman ſays, it is impoſſible for any Engliſhman to ſtudy four or five hundred *cahiers*. It is evident, however, from this miſtake, how neceſſary it is to examine them before writing on the revolution.

** *Vermandois*, p. 23.——*Chalons-ſur-Marne*, p. 6.——*Gien*, p. 9.

†† *Crepy*, p. 10.

‡‡ *St. Quintin*, p. 9.

To

To the clergy, the revolution has been yet more fatal. One word will diſpatch this inquiry. The revolution was a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the kingdom; but it was deſtructive of all the reſt. It is not eaſy to know what they loſt on the one hand, or what the national account will gain on the other. Monſ. Necker calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *curés* of the kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a late writer ſays, they poſſeſſed half the kingdom ‖‖. Their number was as little known as their revenue; one writer makes them 400,000 §§; another 81,400 *†; a third 80,000 *‡.

The clergy in France have been ſuppoſed, by many perſons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that ſo large a body of men, poſſeſſed of very great revenues, ſhould be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impoſſible; but they preſerved, what is not always preſerved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour.—— One did not find among them poachers or fox-

‖‖ *De l' Autorité de Monteſquieu dans la revolution preſente*, 8vo. 1789. p. 61.

§§ *Etats Généraux convoqués, par Louis* XVI. par M. Target prem. ſuite, p. 7.

*† *Qu'eſt ce-que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Sieyes. 8vo. p. 51.

*‡ *Bibliotheque de l'homme publique*, par M. Condorcet, &c. tom. iii.

hunters, who, having ſpent the morning in ſcampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit. Such advertiſements were never ſeen in France, as I have heard of in England:——*Wanted a curacy in a good ſporting country, where the duty is light and the neighbourhood convivial.* The proper exerciſe for a country clergyman, is the employment of agriculture, which demands ſtrength and activity——and which, vigorouſly followed, will fatigue enough to give eaſe its beſt reliſh. A ſportſman parſon may be, as he often is in England, a good ſort of man, and *an honeſt fellow*; but certainly this purſuit, and the reſorting to obſcene comedies, and kicking their heels in the jig of an aſſembly, are not the occupations for which we can ſuppoſe tythes were given *. Whoever will give any attention to the demands of the clergy in their *cahiers*, will ſee, that there was, on many topics, an ill ſpirit in that body. They maintain, for inſtance, that the liberty of the preſs ought rather to be reſtrained than extended †: that the laws againſt, it ſhould be renewed and executed ‡: that ad-

* Nothing appears ſo ſcandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their brethren in England dancing at public aſſemblies; and a biſhop's *wife* engaged in the ſame amuſement, ſeems to them as prepoſterous as a biſhop, in his lawn ſleeves, following the ſame diverſion would to us. Probably both are wrong.

† *Saintonge*, p. 24.——*Limoges*, p. 6.

‡ *Lyon*, p. 13.——*Dourdon*, p. 5.

miſſion

miſſion into religious orders ſhould be, as formerly, at ſixteen years of age‖: that *lettres de cachet* are uſeful, and even neceſſary§. The ſolicit to prohibit all diviſion of commons¶;——to revoke the edict allowing incloſures**; that the export of corn be not allowed††; and that public granaries be eſtabliſhed‡‡.

The ill effects of the revolution have been felt more ſeverely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by any other claſs of the people. The rivalry of the Engliſh fabrics, in 1787 and 1788, was ſtrong and ſucceſsful; and the confuſions that followed in all parts of the kingdom, had the effect of leſſening the incomes of ſo many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments; and ſuch numbers fled from the kingdom, that the the general maſs of the conſumption of national fabrics ſunk perhaps three-fourths. The men, whoſe incomes were untouched, leſſened their conſumption greatly, from an apprehenſion of the unſettled ſtate of things: the proſpects of a civil war, ſuggeſted to every man, that his ſafety, perhaps his future bread, depended on the money which he could

‖ *Saintonge*, p. 26.——*Montargis*, p. 10.
§ *Limoges*, p. 22.
¶ *Troyes*, p. 11.
** *Metz*, p. 11.
†† *Rouen*, p. 24.
‡‡ *Laon*, p. 11.——*Dourdon*, p. 17.

hoard.

hoard. The inevitable conſequence, was turning abſolutely out of employment immenſe numbers of workmen. I have, in the diary of the journey, noticed the miſery to which I was a witneſs at Lyons, Abbeville, Amiens, &c. and by intelligence, I underſtood that it was ſtill worſe at Rouen: the fact could be otherwiſe. This effect, which was abſolute death, by ſtarving many thouſands of families, was a reſult, that, in my opinion, might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying things to extremities——from driving the nobility out of the kingdom, and ſeizing, inſtead of regulating, the whole regal authority. Theſe violences were not neceſſary to liberty; they even deſtroyed true liberty, by giving the government of the kingdom, in too great a degree, to Paris, and to the populace of every town.

The effect of the revolution, to the ſmall proprietors of the kingdom, muſt, according to common nature of events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy; and had the new government adopted any principles of taxation, except thoſe of the *œconomiſtes*, eſtabliſhing at the ſame time an abſolute freedom in the buſineſs of incloſure, and in the police of corn, the reſult would probably have been advantageous, even at this recent period. The committee of impoſts * mention (and I doubt not their accuracy), the proſperity of agriculture. in the ſame page in which they lament the depreſ-

* *Rapport le 6 Decembre* 1790, *ſur les moyens de pourvoir aux depenſes pour* 1791, p. 4.

ſion of every other branch of the national induſtry. Upon a moderate calculation, there remained, in the hands of the claſſes depending on land, on the account of taxes in the years 1789 and 1790, at leaſt 300,000,000 liv.; the execution of *corvées* was as lax as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years tythe, which I cannot eſtimate at leſs than 300,000,000 liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and payments of every ſort during thoſe two years, could not be leſs than 100,000,000 liv. including ſervices. But all theſe articles, great as they were, amounting to near 800,000,000 liv. were leſs than the immenſe ſums that came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of corn throughout the year 1789; a price ariſing almoſt entirely from Monſ. Necker's fine operations in the corn trade, as it has been proved at large; it is true there is a deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable diminution of conſumption in every article of land produce, not eſſentially neceſſary to life: every object of luxury, or tending to it, is leſſened greatly. But after this diſcount is allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor farmers, muſt be very great. The benefit of ſuch a ſum being added, as it is to the capital of huſbandry, needs no explanation. Their agriculture muſt be invigorated by ſuch wealth——by the freedom enjoyed by its profeſſors; by the deſtruction of its innumerable ſhackles; and even by the diſtreſſes of other employments, occaſioning new and great inveſtments of capital in land: and theſe

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leading facts will appear in a clearer light, when the prodigious diviſion of landed property in France is well conſidered; probably half, perhaps two-thirds, of the kingdom are in the poſſeſſion of little proprietors, who paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the ſpots they farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative affluence; and as eaſe is thus acquired by at leaſt half the kingdom, it muſt not be ſet down as a point of trifling importance. Should France eſcape a civil war, ſhe will, in the proſperity of theſe men, find a reſource which politicians at a diſtance do not calculate. With rents the caſe is certainly different; for, beyond all doubt, landlords will, ſooner or later, avail themſelves of theſe circumſtances, by advancing their rents; acting in this reſpect, as in every other country, is common; but they will find it impoſſible to deprive the tenantry of a vaſt advantage, neceſſarily flowing from their emancipation.

The confuſion, which has ſince ariſen in the finances, owing almoſt entirely to the mode of taxation adopted by the aſſembly, has had the effect of continuing to the preſent moment (1791), a freedom from all impoſt to the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general effects on the national affairs, has tended ſtrongly to enrich this claſs.

The effects of the revolution, not on any particular claſs of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with me, I muſt confeſs, very queſtionable; I ſee no benefits flowing, *particularly* to agri-

culture

culture (liberty applies equally to *all* claſſes, and is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for the protection of *property*), except the caſe of tythes; but I ſee the riſe of many evils; reſtrictions and prohibitions on the trade of corn——a varying land-tax—— and impeded incloſures, are miſchiefs on *principle*, that may have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite drawbacks from the proſperity, which certainly was attainable. It is to be hoped, that the good ſenſe of the aſſembly will reverſe this ſyſtem by degrees; for, if it is not reverſed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

The effect of the revolution, on the public revenue, is one great point on which Monſ. de Calonne lays conſiderable ſtreſs; and it has been ſince urged in France, that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown abſolutely out of employment, and conſequently out of bread, in the collection of taxes on ſalt and tobacco only, has had a powerful influence in ſpreading univerſal diſtreſs and miſery. The public revenue ſunk, in one year, 175 millions: this was not a *loſs* of that ſum; the people to whom aſſignats were paid on that account loſt no more than the diſcount; the loſs, therefore, to the people to whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more than from 5 to 10 per cent.*.

* Since this was written, aſſignats fell, in December 1791, and January 1792, to 34 to 38 per cent. paid in ſilver, and 42 to 50 paid in gold, ariſing from great emiſſions; from the quantity of private paper iſſued; from forged ones being common, and from the proſpect of a war.

But was it a loſs to the miſerable ſubjects who formerly paid thoſe taxes; and who paid them by the ſweat of their brows, at the expence of the bread out of their children's mouths, aſſeſſed with tyranny, and levied in blood. Do they feel a loſs in having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789, more than they had in 1788? and in poſſeſſing other 175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future? Is not ſuch a change eaſe, wealth, life, and animation to thoſe claſſes, who, while the pens of political ſatiriſts ſlander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by inheriting from that revolution ſomething which the old government aſſuredly did not give? The revenue of the clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—thoſe to whom the difference between the preſent payment of one hundred and forty millions, and the old tythes, are a deduction of all revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great diſtreſs; but what ſay the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the deteſtable burthen of thoſe taxes was extorted? Do not they find their culture lightened, their induſtry freed, their products their own? Go to the ariſtocratical politician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *metayer*, or the houſe of the farmer, and demand of him what the reſult has been—there will be but one voice from Calais to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one ſtroke aboliſhed

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in England*, no doubt the clergy would ſuffer, but would not the agriculture of the kingdom, with every man dependent on it, riſe with a vigour never before experienced.

Future Effects.

It would betray no inconſiderable preſumption to attempt to predict what will be the event of the revolution now paſſing in France; I am not ſo imprudent. But there are conſiderations that may be offered to the attention of thoſe who love to ſpeculate on future events better than I do. There are three apparent benefits in an ariſtocracy forming the part of a conſtitution; firſt, the fixed, conſolidated, and hereditary importance of the great nobility, is, for the moſt part, a bar to the dangerous pretenſions, and illegal views, of a victorious and highly popular king, preſident, or leader. Aſſemblies, ſo elected, as to be ſwayed abſolutely by the

* It is an error in France to ſuppoſe, that the revenue of the church is ſmall in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris ſtates that revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be ſtated at leſs than five millions ſterling. *Mem. preſenté par la S. R. d'Ag. a l'Aſſemblée Nationale*, 1789, p. 52—— One of the greateſt and wiſeſt men we have in England, perſiſts in aſſerting it to be *much leſs* than two millions. From very numerous inquiries, which I am ſtill purſuing, I have reaſon to believe this opinion to be founded on inſufficient data.

opinion of the people, would frequently, under ſuch a prince, be ready to grant him much more than a well conſtituted ariſtocratic ſenate. Secondly, ſuch popular aſſemblies, as I have juſt deſcribed, are ſometimes led to adopt deciſions too haſtily, and too imprudently; and particularly in the caſe of wars with neighbouring nations; in the free countries, we have known the commonalty have been too apt to call lightly for them. An ariſtocracy, not *unduly* influenced by the crown, ſtands like a rock againſt ſuch phrenzies, and hath a direct intereſt in the encouragement and ſupport of peaceable maxims. The remark is applicable to many other ſubjects, in which mature deliberation is wanted to ballaſt the impetuoſity of the people. I always ſuppoſe the ariſtocratic body well conſtituted, upon the baſis of a ſufficient property, and at the ſame time no *unlimited* power in the crown, to throw all the property of the kingdom into the ſame ſcale, which is the caſe in England. Thirdly, whatever benefits may ariſe from the exiſtence of an executive power, diſtinct from the legiſlative, muſt abſolutely depend on ſome intermediate and independant body between the people and the executive power. Every one muſt grant, that if there be no ſuch body, the people are enabled, when they pleaſe, to annihilate the executive authority,—and aſſign it, as in the caſe of the long parliament, to committees of their own repreſentatives; or, which is the ſame thing, they may appear, as they did at Verſailles, armed before the King, and inſiſt on his

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conſent to any propoſitions they bring him; in theſe caſes, the ſeeming advantages derived from a diſtinct executive power are loſt. And it muſt be obvious, that in ſuch a conſtitution as *the preſent* one of France, the kingly office can be put down as eaſily, and as readily, as a ſecretary can be reprimanded for a falſe entry in the journals. If a conſtitution be good, all great changes in it ſhould be eſteemed a matter of great difficulty and hazard: it is in bad ones only that alterations ſhould not be looked upon in a formidable light.

That theſe circumſtances may prove advantages in an ariſtocratical portion of a legiſlature, there is reaſon to believe; the inquiry is, whether they be counter-balanced by poſſible or probable evils. May there not come within this deſcription, the danger of an ariſtocracy uniting with the crown againſt the people? that is to ſay, influencing by weight of property and power, a great maſs of the people dependent—againſt the reſt of the people who are independent? Do we not ſee this to be very much the caſe in England at this moment? To what other part of our conſtitution is it imputable that we have been infamouſly involved in perpetual wars, from which none reap any benefit but that tribe of vermin which thrive moſt when a nation moſt declines; contractors, victuallers, pay-maſters, ſtock-jobbers, and money-ſcriveners: a ſet by whom miniſters are ſurrounded; and in favour of whom whole claſſes amongſt the people are beggared and ruined. Thoſe who will aſſert a conſtitution can

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be good * which ſuffers theſe things, ought at leaſt to agree, that ſuch an one as would not ſuffer them would be much better †.

If an ariſtocracy have thus its advantages and diſadvantages, it is natural to inquire, whether the French nation be likely to eſtabliſh ſomething of a ſenate, that ſhall have the advantages without the evils. If there ſhould be none, no popular repreſentatives will ever be brought, with the conſent of their conſtituents, to give up a power in their own poſſeſſion and enjoyment. It is experi-

* It ought not to be allowed even tolerable, for this plain reaſon, ſuch public extravagance engenders taxes to an amount that will ſooner or later force the people into reſiſtance, which is always the deſtruction of a conſtitution; and ſurely that muſt be admitted bad, which carries to the moſt careleſs eye the ſeeds of its own deſtruction. Two hundred and forty millions of public debt in a century, is in a ratio impoſſible to be ſupported; and therefore evidently ruinous.

† "The direct power of the king of England," ſays Mr. Burke, "is conſiderable. His indirect is great indeed. When was it that a king of England wanted wherewithal to make him reſpected, courted, or perhaps even feared in every ſtate in Europe?" It is in ſuch paſſages as theſe, that this elegant writer lays himſelf open to the attacks, formidable, becauſe juſt, of men who have not an hundredth part of his talents. Who queſtions, or can queſtion, the power of a prince that in leſs than a century has expended above 1000 millions, and involved his people in a debt of 240! The point in debate is not the *exiſtence* of power, but its *exceſs*. What is the conſtitution that generates or allows of ſuch expences? The very miſchief complained of is here wrought into a merit, and brought in argument to prove that poiſon is ſalutary.

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ence alone, and long experience, that can ſatisfy the doubts which every one muſt entertain on this ſubject. What can we know, experimentally, of a government which has not ſtood the brunt of unſucceſsful and of ſucceſsful wars? The Engliſh conſtitution has ſtood this teſt, and has been found deficient; or rather, as far as this teſt can decide any thing, has been proved worthleſs; ſince in a ſingle century, it has involved the nation in a debt of ſo vaſt † a magnitude, that every bleſſing which might otherwiſe have been perpetuated is put to the ſtake; ſo that if the nation do not make ſome change in its conſtitution, it is much to be dreaded that the conſtitution will ruin the nation. Where practice and experience have ſo utterly failed, it would be vain to reaſon from theory: and eſpecially on a ſubject on which a very able writer has ſeen his own prediction, ſo totally erroneous: "In the monarchical ſtates of Europe, it is highly improbable that any form of properly equal government ſhould be eſtabliſhed for many ages; the people, in general, and eſpecially in France, being proud of their monarchs, even when they are oppreſſed by them ‡."

* This debt, and our enormous taxation, are the beſt anſwer the National Aſſembly gives to thoſe who would have had the Engliſh government, with all its faults on its head, adopted in France; nor was it without reaſon ſaid by a popular writer, that a government, formed like the Engliſh, obtains more revenue than it could do, either by direct deſpotiſm, or in a full ſtate of freedom.

‡ Dr. Prieſtly's Lectures on Hiſt. 4to. 1788, p. 917.

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In regard to the future conſequences of this ſingular revolution, as an example to other nations, there can be no doubt but the ſpirit which has produced it, will, ſooner or later, ſpread throughout Europe, according to the different degrees of illumination amongſt the common people; and it will prove either miſchievous or beneficial, in proportion to the previous ſteps taken by governments. It is unqueſtionably the ſubject of all others the moſt intereſting to every claſs, and even to every individual of a modern ſtate; the great line of diviſion, into which the people divides, is, 1ſt, thoſe that have property; and, 2d, others that have none. The events that have taken place in France, in many reſpects, have been ſubverſive of property; and have been effected by the lower people, in direct oppoſition to the nominal legiſlature; yet their conſtitution began its eſtabliſhment with a much greater degree of regularity, by a formal election of repreſentatives, than there is any probability of ſeeing in other countries. Revolutions will there be blown up from riotous mobs—from the military called out to quell them, but refuſing obedience, and joining the inſurgents. Such a flame, ſpreading rapidly through a country, muſt prove more hoſtile, and more fatal to property, than any thing that has prevailed in France. The probability of ſuch events, every one muſt allow to be not inconſiderable; the ruin that muſt attend them cannot be doubted; for they would tend not to produce, a National Aſſembly, and a free conſtitution, but an univerſal anarchy and

confuſion.

confuſion. The firſt attempt towards a democracy in England would be the common people demanding an admiſſion and voice in the veſtries, and voting to themſelves whatever rates they thought proper to appropriate; which, in fact, would be an agrarian law. Can there be ſo much ſupineneſs in the preſent governments of Europe, as to ſuppoſe, that old principles and maxims will avail any longer? Can ſuch ignorance of the human heart, and ſuch blindneſs to the natural courſe of events be found, as the plan of rejecting *all* innovations leſt they ſhould lead to greater? There is no government to be found, that does not depend, in the laſt reſort, on a military power; and if that fail them, is not the conſequence eaſily ſeen? A new policy muſt either be adopted, or all the governments we know will be ſwept from their very foundations. This policy muſt conſiſt, firſt, in making it the intereſt, as much as poſſible, of every claſs in the ſtate, except thoſe abſolutely without property*, to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government; and alſo to render it as palatable, as the ſecurity of property will allow, even to theſe;

* The repreſentation of mere population is as groſs a violation of ſenſe, reaſon, and theory, as it is found pernicious in practice; it gives to ignorance to govern knowledge; to uncultivated intellect the lead of intelligence; to ſavage force the guide of law and juſtice; and to folly the governance of wiſdom. Knowledge, intelligence, information, learning, and wiſdom ought to govern nations; and theſe are all found to reſide moſt in the middle claſſes of mankind; weakened by the habits and prejudices of *the great*, and ſtifled by the ignorance of the vulgar.

farther than this, none can look; for it is ſo directly the intereſt of the people, *without property*, to divide with thoſe *who have it*, that no government can be eſtabliſhed, which ſhall give the poor an equal intereſt in it with the rich †;—the viſible tangible intereſt of the poor (if I may uſe the expreſſions), and not the ultimate and remote which they will never voluntarily regard, is a *pure* democracy, and a conſequent diviſion of property, the ſure path to anarchy and deſpotiſm. The means of making a government reſpected and beloved are, in England, obvious; taxes muſt be

† Thoſe who have not attended much to French affairs, might eaſily miſtake the repreſentation of territory and contribution in the French conſtitution, as ſomething ſimilar to what I contend for—but nothing is more remote; the number choſen is of little conſequence, while perſons without property are the electors. Yet Mr. Chriſtie ſays, vol. i. p. 196. that property is a baſe on which repreſentation ought to be founded; and it is plain he thinks that property is repreſented, though the repreſentatives of the property are elected by men that do not poſſeſs a ſhilling! It is not that the proprietors of property ſhould have voices in the election proportioned to their property, but that men who have a direct intereſt in the plunder or diviſion of property ſhould be kept at a diſtance from power. Here lies the great difficulty of modern legiſlation, to ſecure property, and at the ſame time ſecure freedom to thoſe that have no property. In England there is much of this effected for the ſmall portion of every man's income that is left to him after public plunder is ſatiated (the poor, the parſon, and the king take 50 to 60 per cent of every man's rent)—but the reſt is ſecure. In America the poor, the parſon, and the king take nothing (or next to nothing), and the whole is ſecure. In France ALL ſeems to be at the mercy of the populace.

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immenſely reduced; aſſeſſments on malt, leather, candles, ſoap, ſalt, and windows, muſt be aboliſhed or lightened; the funding ſyſtem, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by taxing the intereſt of the public debt—the conſtitution that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the ſeeds of its deſtruction; tythes * and teſts aboliſhed; the repreſentation of parliament reformed, and its duration ſhortened; not to give the people, without property, a predominancy, but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and taxes have originated; the utter deſtruction of all monopolies, and, among them, of all charters and corporations; game-made property, and belonging to the poſſeſſor of one acre, as much as to him who has a thouſand; and, laſtly, the laws, both criminal and civil to be throughly reformed.—Theſe circumſtances include the great evils of the Britiſh conſtitution; if they be remedied, it may enjoy even a Venetian longevity; but if they be allowed, like

* The exaction of tythes is ſo abſurd and tyrannical an attack on the property of mankind, that it is almoſt impoſſible for them to continue in any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for 100l. is too groſs an impoſition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in the moſt pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are circumſtances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth. Italy, France, and America have ſet noble examples for the imitation of mankind; and thoſe countries that do not follow them, will ſoon be as inferior in cultivation as they are in policy.

cancerous humours to prey on the nobler parts of the political ſyſtem, this boaſted fabric may not exiſt even twenty years. To guard property effectually, and to give permanency to the new ſyſtem, the militia laws ought all to be repealed. When we ſee, as in all the monarchies of Europe, the government only armed, deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed. When thoſe who have property alone are armed, how ſecure the people from oppreſſion?—When thoſe who have no property are armed, how prevent their ſeizing the property of others?—Perhaps the beſt method of guarding againſt theſe contrary evils, is to embody, in a national militia, all who have property; and, at the ſame time, to allow arms (unembodied) to all citizens indiſcriminately: we ſee, in the caſe of Berne, that the people being armed, keeps an ariſtocracy in ſuch order, that great oppreſſions are unknown. An army was always dangerous; and, in the probable ſtate of Europe, it may be doubly ſo; diſcipline preſerved, it cemented deſpotiſm; undiſciplined, it may unite with the people of no property, and produce anarchy and ruin. There ſeems to be no ſufficient guard upon it, but a national militia, formed of every man that poſſeſſes a certain degree of property, rank and file as well as officers*.

Such

* The late riots at Bermingham ought to convince every man, who looks to the preſervation of peace, that a *militia of property* is abſolutely neceſſary; had it exiſted at that town, no ſuch infamous tranſactions could have taken place, to the diſgrace of the age and nation. Thoſe riots may convince us how inſecure our property really is in England, and how very

Such a force, in this iſland, would probably amount to above 100,000 men; and would be amply ſufficient for repreſſing all thoſe riots, whoſe object might be, immediately or ultimately, the democratic miſchief of transferring property†. This for a free government:—deſpotic ones,

very imperfect that POLITICAL SYSTEM, which could, twice in ten years, ſee two of the greateſt towns in England at the mercy of a vile mob. The military muſt, in relation to the greater part of the kingdom, be always at a diſtance; but a militia is on the ſpot, and eaſy to be collected, by previous regulations, at a moment's warning.

† The claſs of writers who wiſh to ſpread the taſte of revolutions, and make them every where the *order of the day*, affect to confound the governments of France and America, as if eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles; if ſo, it is a remarkable fact that the reſult ſhould, to appearance, turn out ſo differently: but a little examination will convince us, that there is ſcarcely any thing in common between thoſe governments, except the general principle of being free. In France, the populace are electors, and to ſo low a degree that the excluſions are of little account; and the qualifications for a ſeat in the provincial aſſemblies, and in the national one, are ſo low that the whole chain may be completed, from the firſt elector to the legiſlator, without a ſingle link of what merits the name of property. The very reverſe is the caſe in America, there is not a ſingle ſtate in which voters muſt not have a qualification of property: in Maſſachuſſets and New Hampſhire, a freehold of 3l. a year, or other eſtate of 60l. value: Connecticut is a country of ſubſtantial freeholders, and the old government remains: In New York, electors of the ſenate muſt have a property of 100l. free from debts; and thoſe of the aſſembly freeholds of 40s. a year, *rated and paying taxes:* in Penſylvania, payment of taxes

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ones, that would wiſh to eſcape deſtruction, muſt emancipate their ſubjects, becauſe no military conformation

is neceſſary: in Maryland, the poſſeſſion of 50 acres of land, or other eſtate worth 30l.: in Virginia, 25 cultivated acres, with a houſe on it: in North Carolina, for the ſenate 50 acres, and for the aſſembly payment of taxes: and in all the ſtates there are qualifications much more conſiderable, neceſſary for being eligible to be elected. In general it ſhould be remembered, that taxes being ſo very few, the qualification of paying them excludes vaſtly more voters than a ſimilar regulation in Europe. In conſtituting the legiſlatures alſo, the ſtates all have two houſes, except Penſylvania. And Congreſs itſelf meets in the ſame form. Thus a ready explanation is found of that order and regularity, and ſecurity of property, which ſtrikes every eye in America; a contraſt to the ſpectacle which France has exhibited, where confuſion of every ſort has operated, in which property is very far from ſafe; in which the populace legiſlate and then execute, not laws of their repreſentatives, but of their own ambulatory wills; in which, at this moment (March 1792), they are a ſcene of anarchy, with every ſign of a civil war commencing. Theſe two great experiments, as far as they have gone, ought to pour conviction in every mind, that order and property never can be ſafe if the right of election is perſonal, inſtead of being attached to property: and whenever propoſitions for the reformation of our repreſentation ſhall be ſeriouſly conſidered, which is certainly neceſſary, nothing ought to be in contemplation but taking power from the crown and the ariſtocracy—not to give it to the mob, but to the middle claſſes of moderate fortune. The proprietor of an eſtate of 50l. a year is as much intereſted, in the preſervation of order and of property, as the poſſeſſor of fifty thouſand; but the people without property have a direct and poſitive intereſt in public confuſion, and the conſequent diviſion of that property, of which they are deſtitute. Hence the neceſſity, a preſſing one in the preſent moment, of a milita rank and file, of property; the eſſential counterpoiſe to aſſemblies in ale-houſe kitchens, clubbing their pence to have the *Rights of Man* read to them, by which ſhould be underſtood (in Europe,

not

formation can long ſecure the obedience of ill treated ſlaves; and while ſuch governments are giving to their people a conſtitution worth preſerving, they ſhould, by an abſolute renunciation of all the views of conqueſt, make a ſmall army as efficient for good purpoſes, as a large force for ambitious ones: this new-modelled military ſhould conſiſt, rank and file, of men intereſted in the preſervation of property and order: were this army to conſiſt merely of nobility, it would form a military ariſtocracy, as dangerous to the prince as to the people; it ſhould be compoſed, indiſcriminately, of individuals, drawn from all claſſes, but poſſeſſing a given property.——A good government, thus ſupported, may be durable; bad ones will be ſhivered to pieces by the new ſpirit that ferments in Europe. The candid reader will, I truſt, ſee, that in whatever I have ventured to advance on ſo critical a ſubject as this great and unexampled revolution, I have aſſigned the merit I think due to it, *which is the deſtruction of the old*

not in America) the RIGHT TO PLUNDER. Let the ſtate of France at preſent be coolly conſidered, and it will be found to originate abſolutely in population, without property being repreſented; it exhibits ſcenes ſuch as can never take place in America. See the National Aſſembly of a great empire, at the criſis of its fate, liſtening to the harrangues of the Paris populace, the female populace of St. Antoine, and the preſident formally anſwering and flattering them! Will ſuch ſpectacles ever be ſeen in the American Congreſs? Can that be a well conſtituted government, in which the moſt precious moments are ſo conſumed? The place of aſſembling (Paris) is alone ſufficient to endanger the conſtitution.

government

government, and not the eſtabliſhment of the new. All that I ſaw, and much that I heard, in France, gave me the cleareſt conviction, that *a change* was neceſſary for the happineſs of the people; a change, that ſhould limit the royal authority; that ſhould reſtrain the feudal tyranny of the nobility; that ſhould reduce the church to the level of good citizens; that ſhould correct the abuſes of finance; that ſhould give purity to the adminiſtration of juſtice; and that ſhould place the people in a ſtate of eaſe, and give them weight enough to ſecure this bleſſing. Thus far I muſt ſuppoſe every friend of mankind agreed. But whether, in order to effect thus much, all France were to be overthrown, ranks annihilated, property attacked, the monarchy aboliſhed, and the king and royal family trampled upon; and above all the reſt, the whole effect of the revolution, good or bad, put on the iſſue of a conduct which, to ſpeak in the mildeſt language, made a civil war probable:—this is a queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. In my private opinion, theſe extremities were not neceſſary; France might have been free without violence; a neceſſitous court, a weak miniſtry, and a timid prince, could have refuſed nothing to the demands of the ſtates, eſſential to public happineſs. The power of the purſe would have done all that ought to have been done. The weight of the commons would have been predominant; but it would have had checks and a controul, without which *power* is not CONSTITUTION, but *tyranny*. — While, however, I thus venture to think that the revolution might have

have been accompliſhed upon better principles, becauſe probably more durable ones, I do not therefore aſſign the firſt National Aſſembly in the groſs to that total condemnation, they have received from ſome very intemperate pens, and for this plain reaſon, becauſe it is certain that they have not done much which was not called for by the people.

Before the revolution is condemned in the groſs, it ſhould be conſidered what extent of liberty was demanded by the three orders in their *cahiers*; and this in particular is neceſſary, ſince thoſe very *cahiers* are quoted to ſhew the miſchievous proceedings of the National Aſſembly. Here are a few of the ameliorations demanded; to have the trial by jury, and the *habeas corpus* of England *; to deliberate by head, and not by order, demanded *by the nobility themſelves* †; to declare all taxes illegal and ſuppreſſed—but to grant them anew for a year; to eſtabliſh for ever the capitaineries ‡; to eſtabliſh a *caiſſe nationale ſeparée inacceſſible à tõute influence du pouvoir executiff* ‖: that all

* *Nob. Auxois*, p. 23. *Artois*, p. 13. *T. Etat de Peronne*, p. 15. *Nob. Dauphiné*, p. 119.

† *Nob. Touraine*, p. 4. *Nob. Senlis*, p. 46. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, p. 3. *Nob. Queſnoy*, p. 6. *Nob. Sens*, p. 3. *Nob. Thimerais*, p. 3. *Clergé du Bourbonnois*, p. 6. *Clergé du Bas Limoſin*, p. 10.

‡ Too numerous to quote, of both Nobility and Tiers.

‖ Many; Nobility as well as Tiers.

the intendants ſhould be ſuppreſſed §: that no treaties of commerce ſhould be made but with the conſent of the ſtates ¶: that the orders of begging monks be ſuppreſſed **: that *all* monks be ſuppreſſed, and their goods and eſtates ſold ††: that tythes be for ever ſuppreſſed ‡‡: that all feudal right, duties, payments, and ſervices be aboliſhed ‖‖: that ſalaries *(traitement pécuniare)*, be paid to the deputies *: that the permanence of the National Aſſembly is a neceſſary part of its exiſtence †: that the Baſtile be demoliſhed ‡: that the duties of *aides*, on wine, brandy, tobacco, ſalt, leather, paper, iron, oil, and ſoap, be ſuppreſſed ‖: that the apanages be aboliſhed §§: that the domaines of the king be alienated ¶¶: that the king's

§ *Nob. Sezanne*, p. 14. *T. Etat Metz*, p. 42. *T. Etat de Auvergne*, p. 9. *T. Etat de Riom*, p. 23.

¶ *Nob. Nivernois*, p. 25.

** *Nob. Bas Limoſin*, p. 12.

†† *T. Etat du Haut Vivarais*, p. 18. *Nob. Rheims*, p. 16. *Nob. Auxerre*, p. 41.

‡‡ *Nob. Toulon*, p. 18.

‖‖ Too many to quote.

* *Nob. Nomery en Loraine*, p. 10.

† *Nob. Mantes & Meulun*, p. 16. *Provins & Montereaux* art. 1. *Rennes*, art. 19.

‡ *Nob. Paris*, p. 14.

‖ *Nob. Vitry le Francois*, MS. *Nob. Lyon*, p. 16. *Nob. Bugey*, p. 28. *Nob. Paris*, p. 22.

§§ *Nob. Poitheu*, p. 32. *Nob. Chartres*, p. 19. *Nob. Auxerre*, art. 74.

¶¶ *Nob. Bugey*, p. 11. *Nob. Montargis*, p. 18. *Nob. Paris*, p. 16. *Nob. Bourbonnois*, p. 12. *Nob. Nancy*, p. 23. *Nob. Angoumois*, p. 20. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, fol. 9.

ſtud

ſtuds (*haras*), be ſuppreſſed **: that the pay of the ſoldiers be augmented ††: that the kingdom be divided into diſtricts, and the elections proportioned to population and to contributions ‡‡: that all citizens paying a determinate quota of taxes vote in the parochial aſſemblies ‖‖: that it is indiſpenſable in the ſtates-general to conſult the Rights of Man §§: that the deputies ſhall accept of no place, penſion, grace, or favour ¶¶.

From this detail of the inſtructions given by the nation, I will not aſſert that every thing which the National Aſſembly has decreed is juſtifiable; but in may be very fairly concluded, that much the greater part of their arrets, and many that have been the moſt violently arraigned, are here expreſsly demanded. To reply that theſe demands are not thoſe of the nation at large, but of particular bodies only, is very wide from the argument; eſpecially as the moſt virulent enemies of the revolution, and particularly Meſſ. Burke and De Calonne, have, from theſe *cahiers*, deduced ſuch concluſions as ſuited their purpoſe; and if they are made authority for con-

** *Nob. Beauvois*, p. 18. *Nob. Troyes*, p. 25.

†† *Nob. Limoges*, p. 31.

‡‡ *T. Etat de Lyon*, p. 7. *Niſmes*, p. 13. *Cotentin*, art. 7.

‖‖ *T. Etat Rennes*, art. 15.

§§ *T. Etat Niſmes*, p. 11.

¶¶ *T. Etat, Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 17. Mr. Burke ſays, "When the ſeveral orders, in their ſeveral bailliages, had met in the year 1789, to chuſe and inſtruct their repreſentatives, they were the *people* of France; whilſt they were in that ſtate, in no one of their inſtructions did they charge, or even hint at any of thoſe things which have drawn upon the uſurping aſſembly the deteſtation of the rational part of mankind."

demning the tranſactions in that kingdom, they certainly are equal authority for ſupporting thoſe tranſactions. I ſhall make but one obſervation on theſe demands. The aſſemblies that drew them up, moſt certainly never demanded, in expreſs terms, the abolition of the monarchy, or the tranſfer of all the regal authority to the deputies; but let it be coolly conſidered, what ſort of a monarchy muſt neceſſarily remain, while an aſſembly is permanent, with power to aboliſh tythes; to ſuppreſs the intendants; not only to vote, but to keep the public money: to alienate the king's domains; and to ſuppreſs his ſtuds: to aboliſh the *capitaineries*, and deſtroy the baſtile:—the aſſembly that is called upon to do all this, is plainly meant to be a body *ſolely* poſſeſſing the legiſlative authority: it is evidently not meant to *petition the king* to do it; becauſe they would have uſed, in this caſe, the form of expreſſion ſo common in other parts of the *cahiers*, *that his majeſty will have the goodneſs*, &c.

The reſult of the whole inquiry, cannot but induce temperate men to conclude, that the abolition of tythe, of feudal ſervices and payments, of the *gabelle*, or ſalt-tax, of that on tobacco, of the *entrees*, of all exciſes on manufacturers, and of all duties on tranſit, of the infamous proceedings in the old courts of juſtice, of the deſpotic practices of the old monarchy, of the militia regulations, of the monaſteries and nunneries, and of numberleſs other abuſes; I ſay, that temperate men muſt conclude, that the advantages derived to the nation are

are of the very firſt importance, and ſuch as muſt inevitably ſecure to it, as long as they continue, an uncommon degree of proſperity. The men who deny the benefit of ſuch events, muſt have ſomething ſiniſter in their views, or *muddy in their underſtandings*. On the other hand, the extenſive and unneceſſary ruin brought on ſo many thouſands of families, of all deſcriptions, by violence, plunder, terror, and injuſtice, to an amount that is ſhewn in the utter want of the precious metals, the ſtagnation of induſtry, and the poverty and miſery found amongſt many, is an evil of too great a magnitude to be palliated. The nouriſhment of the moſt pernicious cancer in the ſtate, public credit: the deluge of paper money; the violent and frivolous extinction of rank *; the new ſyſtem of taxation, apparently ſo hurtful to landed property; and a reſtricted corn trade; all theſe are great deductions from public felicity, and weigh the heavier in the ſcale, becauſe unneceſſary to effect the revolution. Of the nature and durableneſs of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed, prudent men will not be eager to propheſy: it is a new ex-

* It is ſo becauſe the inequality remains as great as if titles had remained, but built on its worſt baſis, wealth. The nobility were bad, but not ſo bad as Mr. Chriſtie makes them; they did *not* wait till the *Etats Generaux* before they agreed to renounce their pecuniary priviliges, *Letters on the Revolution of France*, vol. i. p. 74. The firſt meeting of the ſtates was May 5, 1789; but the nobility aſſembled at the Louvre, Dec. 20, 1788, addreſſed the king, declaring that intention.

periment

periment *, and cannot be tried or examined on old ideas; but the EFFECTS, good and bad, here arranged, in oppoſition to each other, are viſible

* After all that has been ſaid of late years, on the ſubject of conſtitutions and governments by various writers in England, but more eſpecially in France, one circumſtance muſt ſtrike any attentive reader; it is, that none of the writers who have puſhed the moſt forward in favour of new ſyſtems, have ſaid any thing to convince the unprejudiced part of mankind, that experiment is not as neceſſary a means of knowledge in relation to government, as in agriculture, or any other branch of natural philoſophy. Much has been ſaid in favour of the American government, and I believe with perfect juſtice, *reaſoning at far as the experiment extends*; but it is fair to conſider it as an imperfect experiment, extending no further than the energy of perſonal virtue, ſeconded by the moderation attendant on a circulation not remarkably active. We learn, by Mr. Payne, that General Waſhington accepted no ſalary as commander of their troops, nor any as preſident of their legiſlature——an inſtance that does honour to their government, their country, and to human nature; but it may be doubted, whether any ſuch inſtances will occur two hundred years hence? The exports of the United States now amount to 20 millions of dollars; when they amount to 500 millions, when great wealth, vaſt cities, a rapid circulation, and, by conſequence, immenſe private fortunes are formed, will ſuch ſpectacles be found? Will their government then be as faultleſs as it appears at preſent? It may. Probably it will ſtill be found excellent; but we have no convictions, no proof; it is in the womb of time—THE EXPERIMENT IS NOT MADE. Such remarks, however, ought always to be accompanied with the admiſſion, that the Britiſh government has been experimented.—With what reſult?—Let a debt of 240 millions—let ſeven wars—let Bengal and Gibraltar—let 50 millions ſterling of national burthens, taxes, rates, tythes, and monopolies—let theſe anſwer——

to

to every eye; the advantages are recognized; the evils are felt. On theſe circumſtances we are competent to reaſon†.

1792.

IT may afford the reader ſome ſatisfaction to note a few circumſtances of the ſtate of France at the opening of 1792, which I draw from the correſpondence of ſome friends, on whoſe accuracy I can rely.

Agriculture.—Small proprietors, who farm their own lands, are in a very improved and eaſy ſitua-

† The groſs abuſe which has been thrown on the French nation, and particularly on their aſſemblies, in certain pamphlets, and without interruption, in ſeveral of our newſpapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who feels for the future intereſts of this country. It is in ſome inſtances carried to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs, that we muſt neceſſarily give extreme diſguſt to thouſands of people, who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to *vote* and *act* under the influence of impreſſions unfavourable towards a country, that, unprovoked, has loaded them with ſo much contumely; for a nation groaning under a debt of 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy, this ſeems, to uſe the mildeſt language, to be at leaſt very imprudent.

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tion: renters are proportionally so, to the degree in which their landlords have not been able to acquire in new rents, the payments from which the land has been freed. Owners of meadows, woods, and a variety of articles for which no tythe was paid before, gain much less than others whose property used to be subject to that burthen. In regard to the payment of rent, there is a distinction between the north and south of the Loire; in the former, rents continue to be paid; but to the south, many landlords have been unable to receive a penny; and here a difference is observable; absentees, who were not beloved, or whose agents are disliked, are in an ill situation; but others, who reside, or who, though absent, are beloved, are paid proportionally to the ability of the *metayer*, which species of tenant is chiefly found south of the Loire. The last crop (of 1791), is said to have been short; in a good year, in Picardy, 40 sheaves gave a *septier* of wheat, of 240lb.; but now it takes 50 to 60. This circumstance, however, cannot be general, as the price plainly proves; for January 7th 1792, price at Paris of wheat was 22 to 28 liv. with assignats at 36 per cent. discount, a remarkable proof, that the most depreciated paper currency will answer every purpose for objects of physical necessity, and daily consumption. The discount on this paper, is greater than ever was foretold by those who predicted an enormous rise of all the necessaries of life; a proof how new the science of politics is, and how little able the most ingenious men are to foretel the effects of any

specifics

ſpecified event. The ſale of the national eſtates has been of late very ſlow, which is a ſtrange circumſtance, ſince the rapidity of their transfer ought to have been proportioned to the diſcount upon aſſignats, for an obvious reaſon; for, while land is to be acquired with money, the more depreciated paper is, the greater the benefit to the purchaſer. While the ſale of the eſtates laſted with any degree of briſkneſs, the common price, of ſuch as have come to my knowledge, was 20 to 30, and even more years purchaſe; at which rate the advantages attending inveſtments may be great.

Commerce and Manufactures.—The reſult of the vaſt diſcount upon aſſignats has, in relation to the national induſtry, been almoſt contrary to what many perſons, not ill informed, expected. Early in the confuſion of the revolution, nothing ſuffered ſo ſeverely as manufactures; but I am now (1792) informed, that there is much more motion and employment in them than ſome time paſt, when the general aſpect of affairs was leſs alarming. The very circumſtance which, according to common ideas, ſhould have continued their depreſſion, has moſt unaccountably revived them in ſome meaſure; I mean the depreciation of the aſſignats. Paper currency has been at ſo low a pitch, that every ſpecies of goods has been preferred in payments; maſter manufacturers paying their workmen, &c. in aſſignats, by which bread is purchaſed at a price proportioned to the crop, can ſell the product of that labour to ſuch an advantage, as to create demand enough to animate their buſineſs:

a moſt curious political combination, which ſeems to ſhew, that in circumſtances where evils are of the moſt alarming tendency, there is a re-action, an under-current, that works againſt the apparent tide, and brings relief, even from the very nature of the misfortune. Combine this with the point of depreſſion of England, in all her wars, as explained with ſuch talents by the ingenious Mr. Chalmers, and ſomething of a ſimilarity will ſtrike the reflecting reader. The loſs by the depreſſion of aſſignats has not been by any interior tranſactions, but by thoſe with foreign powers. In conſequence of it, the courſe of exchange roſe at laſt ſo high, that the loſs to the kingdom has been great, but by no means ſo great as ſome have imagined, who ſuppoſed the intercourſe to be moving in the ſame ratio as in proceeding periods. But this is no light error: the evil of exchange, like all other political evils, corrects itſelf; when it is very much againſt a people, they neceſſarily leſſen their conſumption of foreign commodities; and on the contrary, foreign nations conſume *theirs* very freely, becauſe ſo eaſily paid for. Through the month of January 1792, the courſe of exchange between us and Paris, has been about 18 on an average; reckoning the par at 30 (which, however, is not exact), here is 40 per cent. againſt France; deduct 36 for the diſcount on aſſignats, and this apparent enormity of evil is reduced to 4 per cent. Through the month of Janurry 1791, the courſe was 25½; this was 15 per cent. diſadvantage and deducting 5 for the diſcount on aſſignats, the real

diſadvantage

diſadvantage was 10. Thus the exchange in January 1792 is 6 per cent. more favourable to France than in 1791; a remark, however, which muſt not be extended to any other caſe, and touches not on the internal miſchiefs of a depreciated currency. It ſeems to ſhew, that the evils of their ſituation, ſo little underſtood by the generality of people here, are correcting themſelves, relative to foreigners, through the operation of the cauſes I have mentioned. It is at the ſame time to be remarked, that while the price of corn, and other things, in which there is no competition by foreigners, riſes merely on account of a ſcarcity, real or apprehenſive; at the ſame time, every thing bought by foreigners, or which can be bought by them, has riſen greatly; for inſtance, the cloth of Abbeville, a French commodity, has riſen from 30 liv. to 42 liv. the aulne; and copper, a foreign commodity, has increaſed, it is aſſerted, in the petition of the Norman manufactures to the National Aſſembly, 70 per cent. Such a fabric may ſuffer; but if their pins ſell proportionably with other things, the evil, it muſt be admitted, tends to correct itſelf.

Finances.—The prominent feature is the immenſity of the debt, which increaſes every hour. That which bears intereſt, may be about 5,000,000,000liv; and aſſignats, or the debt not bearing intereſt, may be groſsly eſtimated at 1,500,000,000liv.; in all 6,500,000,000 liv. or 284,375,000l. ſterling: a debt of ſuch enormity, that nothing but the moſt regular, and well paid revenue, could

enable the kingdom to ſupport it. The annual *deficit* may be reckoned about 250,000,000liv. *at preſent*, but improveable by a better collection of the revenue. The following is the account for the month of February 1792.

Recette,	20,000,000
Depenſes extraordinaire de 1792,	12,000,000
Id. pour 1791, -	2,000,000
Avances au depart. de Paris,	1,000,000
Deficit,	43,000,000
	58,000,000

I am afraid that any attempt to ſupport ſuch infinite burthens, muſt continue to deluge the kingdom with paper, till, like Congreſs dollars in America, circulation ceaſes altogether. There ſeems to be no remedy but a bankruptcy, which is the beſt, eaſieſt, and moſt beneficial meaſure to the nation, that can be embraced; it is alſo the moſt juſt and the moſt honourable; all ſhifting expedients are, in fact, more miſchievous to the people, and yet leave government as deeply involved, as if no recourſe had been made to them. If the *milice bourgeoiſe* of Paris is ſo intereſted in the funds, as to render this too dangerous, there does not appear to be any other rule of conduct, than one great and laſt appeal to the nation, declaring, that they muſt either DESTROY PUBLIC CREDIT, OR BE DESTROYED BY IT. If the National Aſſembly have not virtue and courage enough

thus

thus to extricate France, ſhe muſt at all events, remain, however free, in a ſtate of political debility.

The impoſſibility of levying the *æconomiſtes*, land-tax, is found in France to be as great in practice as the principles of it were abſurd in theory. I am informed (February 1792), that the confuſion ariſing from this cauſe, in almoſt every part of the kingdom, is great. The tax of 300 millions, laid on the *rental* of France, would not be more than 2s. 6d. in the pound; too great a burthen on juſt political principles, but not a very oppreſſive one, had it been once fairly aſſeſſed, and never afterwards varied. But, by purſuing the jargon of the *produit net*, and making it variable, inſtead of fixed, every ſpecies of inconvenience and uncertainty has ariſen. The aſſembly divided the total among the departments; the departments the *quotas* among the diſtricts; the diſtricts among the municipalities; and the municipalities aſſembled for the aſſeſſment of individuals: the ſame decree that fixed the tax at 300 millions, limited it alſo not to exceed one-fifth of the *produit net*; every man had therefore a power to reject any aſſeſſment that exceeded that proportion; the conſequence was, the total aſſigned to the municipalities, was ſcarcely any where to be found, but upon large farms, let at a money-rent in the north of France; among the ſmall proprietors of a few acres, which ſpread over ſo large a part of the kingdom, they all ſcreened themſelves under definitions, of what the *produit net* meant; and

the

the reſult was, that the month of December, which ought to have produced 40 millions, really produced but 14. So practicable has this viſionary nonſenſe of the *produit net* proved, under the diſpenſations of a mere democracy, though acting *nominally** by repreſentatives. The fact has been, that this ill conceived and ill laid land-tax, which, under a different management, and under the orderly government of the *ſettled* part of America, might have been effectively productive, has been ſo contrived, that it never will, and never can produce what it was eſtimated at in France. The people, without property, have a direct intereſt in ſeconding the refuſals of others to pay, that are in the loweſt claſſes of property, and who can really ill afford it; one great objection to all land-taxes, where poſſeſſions are much divided. With power in ſuch hands, the refuſal is effective, and the national treaſury is empty. But ſuppoſing ſuch enormous difficulties overcome, and theſe little properties valued and taxed on ſome practicable plan, from that moment there muſt be a new valuation every year; for, if one has wealth enough to improve beyond the capacity of the reſt, they immediately ſhift a proportion of their tax on him; and this has accordingly happened, early as it is in the day, and indeed is inherent in the nature of the tax, as promulgated by the aſ-

* Whether nominally, or really, is not of conſequence, if *effective* qualifications of property be not, at every ſtep, the guard, as in the American conſtitutions.

ſembly.

ſembly*. Thus annual aſſeſſments, annual confuſion, annual quarrels, and heart-burnings, and annual oppreſſion, muſt be the conſequence; and all this, becauſe a plain, ſimple, and practicable mode of aſſeſſment was not laid down by the legiſlature itſelf, inſtead of leaving it to be debated and fought through 500 legiſlatures, on the plan, purely ideal and theoretical, of the *œconomiſtes!*

Police of corn.—The National Aſſembly has been of late repeatedly employed in receiving complaints from various departments, relative to the ſcarcity and high price of corn, and debates on it ariſe, and votes paſs, which are printed, to ſatisfy the people that all precautions are taken to prevent exportation. Such a conduct ſhews, that they tread in the ſteps of Monſ. Necker, and that they conſequently may expect, with a crop but ſlightly deficient, to ſee a famine. In the *Gazette Nationale*, of March 6, 1792, I read, in the journal of the Aſſembly, *Inquietudes——précautions priſes——commiſſaires envoyés——veiller à la ſubſiſtance du peuple——fonds pour acheter des grains chez l'etranger——dix millions——*&c. Now this is preciſely the blind and infatuated conduct of Monſ. Necker. If theſe ſteps are neceſſary

* "Auſſitot que les opérations preliminaires ſeront terminées les officiers municipaux et les commiſſaires adjoints feront, en leur ame et conſcience l'evaluation du revenue net des differentes propriétes foncières de la communante ſection par ſection. *Journal des Etats Gen.* tom. xvi. p. 510.

to

to be taken (which is impoſſible), why talk of and print them? Why alarm the people, by ſhewing yourſelves alarmed? Forty-five millions loſs, in the hands of M. Necker, purchaſed not three days corn for France; ten millions will not purchaſe one day's conſumption! but the report and parade of it will do more miſchief than the loſs of five times the quantity: without being in France, I am clear, and can rely enough upon principles to know, that theſe meaſures will RAISE, not ſink the price. One of the many inſtances in legiſlation, that proves the immenſe difference (regarding the caſes of France and the United States) between a repreſentation of mere population, and one of property! *M——pour prévenir les inquiétudes qui pourraient arriver l'année prochaine et les ſuivantes, l'aſſemblée doit s'occuper dès ce moment d'un plan general ſur les ſubſiſtances*——There is but one plan, ABSOLUTE FREEDOM; and you will ſhew, by accepting or rejecting it, what claſs of the people it is that you repreſent. Proclaim a free trade, and from that moment ordain that an inkſtand be crammed inſtantly into the throat of the firſt member that pronounces the word corn.

Prohibition of the Export of the raw Materials of Manufactures.——The laſt information I have had from France is a confirmation of the intelligence our newſpapers gave, that the National Aſſembly had ordered a decree to be prepared for this prohibition. It ſeems that the maſter manufacturers of various towns, taking advantage of the great decline of the national fabrics, made heavy complaints

complaints to the National Aſſembly; and, among other means of redreſs, demanded a prohibition of the export of cotton, ſilk, wool, leather, and, in general, of all raw materials. It was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by a few men, better acquainted than the common maſs with political principles, but in vain; and orders were given to prepare the decree, which I am aſſured will paſs. As I have, in various papers in the *Annals of Agriculture*, entered much at large into this queſtion, I ſhall only mention a few circumſtances here, to convince France, if poſſible, of the miſchievous and moſt pernicious tendency of ſuch a ſyſtem, which will be attended with events little thought of at preſent in that kingdom. As it is idle to have recourſe to reaſoning, when facts are at hand, it is only neceſſary to deſcribe the effect of a ſimilar prohibition in the caſe of wool in England:—1, The price is ſunk by it 50 per cent. below that of all the countries around us, which, as is proved by documents unqueſtionable, amounts to a land-tax of between three and four millions ſterling; being ſo much taken from land and given to manufactures. 2d, Not to make them flouriſh; for a ſecond curious fact is, that of all the great fabrics of England that of wool is *leaſt* proſperous, and has been regularly *moſt* complaining, of which the proofs are before the public; the policy therefore has failed; and becauſe it fails in England, it is going to be adopted in France. The home monopoly of wool gives to the manufacturers ſo great a profit, that they are not ſolicitous about any extenſion of their trade beyond

the home product; andr to this it is owing that no foreign wool, Spaniſh alone excepted (which is not produced here), is imported into England. The ſame thing will happen in France; the home-price will fall; the landed-intereſt will be *robbed*; and the manufacturer, taſting the ſweets of monopoly, will no longer import as before: the fabric at large will receive no increaſe; and all the effect will be, to give the maſter manufacturer a great profit on a ſmall trade: he will gain, but the nation will loſe. 3d, The moſt flouriſhing manufacture of England is that of cotton, of which the manufacturer is ſo far from having a monopoly, that $\frac{19}{20}$ths of the material are imported under a duty, and our own exportable duty free. The next (poſſibly the firſt) is that of hardware; Engliſh iron is exported duty free, and the import of foreign pays 2l. 16s. 2d. a ton; Engliſh coals exported in vaſt quantities. Glaſs exhibits the ſame ſpectacle; Engliſh kelp exportable duty free, and 16s. 6d. a ton on foreign; raw ſilk pays 3s. a lb. on import; export of Britiſh hemp and flax undreſſed is free, foreign pays a duty on import; Britiſh rags, for making paper, exportable duty free; unwrought tin, lead, and copper all exportable either free or under a ſlight duty. The immenſe progreſs made by theſe manufactures, particularly hardware, cotton, glaſs, flax, and earthern-ware, another in which no monopoly of material can exiſt, is known to all Enrope; they are among the greateſt fabrics in the world, and have riſen rapidly; but note (for it merits the attention of France), that

wool

wool has experienced no ſuch riſe *. Our policy in wool ſtands on fact, therefore convicted of rottenneſs; and this is preciſely the policy which the new government of France copies, and extends to every raw material! 4th, The free trade in raw materials is neceſſary, like the free trade in corn, not to ſend thoſe materials abroad, but to ſecure their production at home; and lowering the price, by giving a monopoly to the buyer, is not the way to encourage farmers to produce. 5th, France imports ſilk and wool to the amount of 50 or 60 millions a year, and exports none, or next to none; why prohibit an export, which in ſettled times does not take place? At the preſent moment, the export either takes place, or it does *not* take place? if the latter, why prohibit a trade which has no exiſtence? If it does take place, it proves that the manufacturers cannot buy it as heretofore: is that a reaſon why the farmers ſhould not produce it? Your manufactures cannot buy, and you will not let foreigners; what is that but telling your huſbandmen that they ſhall not produce? Why then do the manufacturers aſk this favour? They are cunning: they very well know why; they have the ſame view as their brethren in England—ſolely that of SINKING THE PRICE, and thereby putting money in their own pockets, at the expence of the landed intereſts

* Exports 1757, 4,758,095l. In 1767, 4,277,462l. In 1777, 3,743,537l. In 1787, 3,687,795l. See this ſubject fully examined, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. x. p. 235.

6th, All the towns of France, contain but ſix millions of people; the manufacturing towns not two millions: why are twenty millions in the country to be cheated out of their property, in order to favour one-tenth of that number in towns? 7th, In various paſſages of theſe travels, I have ſhewn the wretched ſtate of French agriculture, for want of more ſheep; the new ſyſtem is a curious way to effect an increaſe—*by lowering the profit of keeping them.* 8th, The French manufacturers, under the *old* ſyſtem of *freedom*, bought raw materials from other nations, to the amount of ſeveral millions, beſides working up all the produce of France; if ſinking the price be not their object, what is? Can they deſire to do more than this? If under the new government their fabrics do not flouriſh as under the old one, is that a reaſon for prohibition and reſtriction, for robbery and plunder of the landed intereſt, to make good their own loſſes? And if ſuch a demand is good logic in a manufacturer's counting-houſe, is that a reaſon for its being received in a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY!!

One of the moſt curious inquiries that can be made by a traveller, is to endeavour to aſcertain how much per cent. a capital inveſted in land, and in farming-ſtock, will return for cultivation in different countries; no perſon, according to my knowledge, has attempted to explain this very important but difficult problem. The price of land, the intereſt of money, the wages of labour, the rates of all ſorts of products, and the amount of

taxes

taxes, muſt be calculated with ſome degree of preciſion, in order to analyze this combination. I have for many years attempted to gain information on this curious point, concerning various countries. If a man in England buys land rented at 12s. an acre, at thirty years purchaſe, and cultivates it himſelf, making five rents, he will make not more than from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent, and at moſt 6, ſpeaking of general culture, and not eſtimating ſingular ſpots or circumſtances, and including the capital inveſted in both land and ſtock. I learn, from the correſpondence of the beſt farmer, and the greateſt character the new world has produced, certain circumſtances, which enable me to aſſert, with confidence, that money inveſted on the ſame principles, in the middle ſtates of North America, will yield conſiderably more than double the return in England, and in many inſtances the treble of it. To compare France with theſe two caſes, is very difficult:—had the National Aſſembly done for the agriculture of the kingdom what France had a right to expect from FREEDOM, the account would have been advantageous. For buying at 30 years purchaſe, ſtocking the ſame as in England, and reckoning products 6 per cent. lower in price (about the fact), the total capital would have paid from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; land-tax reckoned at 3s. in the pound, which is the proportion of the total

tax

tax to the rental of the kingdom *. It is true, that the courſe of exchange would make an enormous difference, for when exchange is at 15, this ratio per cent. inſtead of $5\frac{1}{2}$ becomes 11, if the capital is remitted from Britain: but as that immenſe loſs, (50 per cent.) on the exchange of France, ariſes from the political ſtate of the kingdom, the ſame circumſtances which cauſe it, would be eſtimated at ſo much hazard and danger. But bring to account the operations of the National Aſſembly, relating to the non-incloſure of commons: the land-tax, variable with improvements, (an article ſufficient to ſtifle the thoughts of ſuch a thing); the export of corn at an end; the tranſport every where impeded; and your granaries burnt and plundered at the pleaſure of the populace, if they do not like the price; and, above all, the prohi-

* But this land-tax is variable, and therefore impoſſible to eſtimate accurately; if you remain no better farmers than your French neighbours, *it is ſo much*; but if you improve, *you are raiſed, and they are ſunk*; all that has, and can be ſaid againſt tythes, bears with equal force againſt ſuch a tax. And though this impoſition cannot go by the preſent law beyond 4s. in the pound, it would be very eaſy to ſhew, by a plain calculation, that 4s. in the pound, *riſing with improvement*, is a tax impoſſible to be borne *by one who improves*; and conſequently, that it is a direct tax on improvement; and it is a tax in the very worſt form, ſince the power to lay and inforce it is not in the government of the kingdom, but in the municipal government of the pariſh. Your neighbour, with whom you may be on ill terms, has the power to tax you; no ſuch private heart-burnings and tyranny are found in exciſes.

bition

bition of the export of all materials of manufactures, as wool, &c. and it is ſufficiently clear, that America offers a vaſtly more eligible field for the inveſtment of capital in land than France does; a proof that the meaſures of the National Aſſembly have been ill-judged, ill-adviſed, and unpolitical: I had ſerious thoughts of ſettling in that kingdom, in order to farm there; but the two meaſures adopted, of a variable land-tax, and a prohibition of the export of wool, damped my hopes, ardent as they were, that I might have breathed that fine climate, free from the extortions of a government, ſtupid in this reſpect as that of England. It is, however, plain enough, that America is the only country that affords an adequate profit, and in which a man, who calculates with intelligence and preciſion, can think of inveſting his capital. How different would this have been, had the National Aſſembly conducted themſelves on principles directly contrary; had they avoided all land-taxes *; had

* To have avoided land-taxes, might very eaſily have been made a moſt popular meaſure, in a kingdom ſo divided into little properties as France is. No tax is ſo heavy upon a ſmall proprietor; and the *œconomiſtes* might have foreſeen what has happened, that ſuch little democratic owners would not pay the tax; but taxes on conſumption, laid *as in England*, and not in the infamous methods of the old government of France, would have been paid by them in a light proportion, without knowing it; but the *œconomiſtes*, to be conſiſtent with their old pernicious doctrines, took every ſtep to make all, except land-taxes, unpopular; and the people were ignorant enough to be deceived into the opinion, that it was better to pay a tax on the bread put into their children's mouths—and, what is worſe, on the land which ought, but does not produce that bread

had they preſerved the free corn-trade, a trade of import more than export; had they been ſilent upon incloſures; and done nothing in relation to raw materials, the profit of inveſtments would have been higher in France than in America, or any country in the world, and immenſe capitals would have flowed into the kingdom from every part of Europe: ſcarcity and famine would not have been heard of, and the national wealth would have been equal to all the exigencies of the period.

bread, than to pay an exciſe on tobacco and ſalt, better to pay a tax which is demanded equally, whether they have or have not the money to pay it, than a duty which, mingled with the price of a luxury, is paid in the eaſieſt mode, and at the moſt convenient moment. In the writings of the *œconomiſtes*, you hear of a free corn trade, and free export of every thing being the recompence for a land-tax; but ſee their actions in power—they impoſe the burthen, and forget the recompence!

* * * * * * *

April 26, 1792.

IN the laſt moment which the preparation for publication allows me to uſe, the intelligence is arrived of a declaration of war on the part of France againſt the Houſe of Auſtria;—the gentlemen in whoſe company I hear it, all announce deſtruction to France;—*they will be beat*;—*they want diſcipline*;—*they have no ſubordination*;—and this idea I find general. So cautiouſly as I have avoided *prophetic* preſumption through the preceding pages, I ſhall ſcarcely aſſume it ſo late in my labours;—but thus much I may venture,—that the expectation of deſtruction to France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you pleaſe to power of field evolution, depending on the utmoſt ſtrictneſs of diſcipline—you muſt admit that it bears only on the queſtion of battles. But guarded as France is, by the moſt important frontier fortreſſes the world knows, why hazard battles? Undiſciplined troops behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience to be effective: and where are the reſources to be found that ſhall attack thoſe ſtrong holds, 700 miles from home? I was at Liſle, Metz, and, Straſbourg; and if the military intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing

for a ſiege, three months to take either of thoſe towns, ſuppoſing them well provided and well defended. We know, on poſitive experience, what the Auſtrians and Pruſſians led by ſome of the greateſt men that have exiſted, were able to do in ſieges, when undertaken at their own doors;—what will they effect againſt places ten times as ſtrong and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation—of pounds and ſhillings;—not of diſcipline and obedience.

But many depend on the deranged ſtate of the French finances; that derangement flows abſolutely from a vain attempt at preſerving public credit:—the National Aſſembly will ſee its futility; miſery; ruin; the NATION muſt be preſerved—what on compariſon is *public credit*?

The diviſions, factions, and internal diſturbances, offer to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain hope. During peace, ſuch difficulties fill the papers, and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terrible; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows ſweeps from the world, and the columns of a gazette the actors and the recital.

Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Pruſſians and Auſtrians are united to carry war amongſt 26 millions of men, arranged behind 100 of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the world.—If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not fond of freedom, but will fight for deſpotiſm—ſomething may be done; for then France falls by the power of France; but if united but tolerably, the attack will be full of difficulties

in

in a country where every man, woman, and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

But, ſuppoſe this idea erroneous—ſuppoſe an impreſſion made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris.—Where is the ſecurity of the reſt of Europe? Is the diviſion of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeſeen union of two or three great powers to protrude through Europe a predominancy dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wiſhes for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wiſh to ſee the Pruſſian colours at the Tower, nor the Auſtrian at Amſterdam. Yet ſucceſs to the cauſe might plant them there. Should real danger ariſe to France, which I hold to be problematical, it is the buſineſs, and direct intereſt of her neighbours, to ſupport her.

The revolution, and anti-revolution parties of England, have exhauſted themſelves on the French queſtion; but there can be none, if that people ſhould be in danger:—We hold at preſent the balance of the world; and have but to ſpeak, and it is ſecure.

THE END.

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